The Adverbial and Prepositional Prefixes in Blackfoot.

PROEFSCHRIFT
TER VERKRIJGING VAN DEN GRAAD VAN
Doctor in de Nederlandsche Letterkunde
AAN DE RIJKSUNIVERSITEIT TE LEIDEN,
OP GEZAG VAN DEN RECTOR-MAGNIFICUS
Dr. G. KALFF,
HOOGLEERAAR IN DE FACULTEIT DER LETTEREN EN WIJSBEGEERTE,
VOOR DE FACULTEIT DER LETTEREN EN WIJSBEGEERTE
TE VERDEDIGEN
op Donderdag 18 October 1917, des namiddags 2 uur
DOOR
GERARDUS JOHANNES GEERS,
GEBOREN TE DELFT.

LEIDEN — N. V. BOEKDRUKKERIJ v/h. L. VAN NIFTERIK Hz.
AAN MIJNE OUDERS.
Bij het verschijnen van dit proefschrift wil ik de dankbaarheid uitspreken, die ik gevoel jegens de Hoog leeraren Blok, Uhlenbeck, Kalff, Vogel en den oud-Hoogleeraar Verdam, voor hetgeen zij tot mijne vorming hebben bijgedragen; dat ik deze betuiging slechts tot de nagedachtenis van wijlen Prof. Bussemaker kan richten, smart mij.

Wat ik U, Hooggeachte Promotor, Professor Uhlenbeck, verschuldigd ben, moge voor altijd tusschen U en mij blijven als een hechte band.

Edel-Groot-Achtbare Heeren Curatoren der Leidsche Universiteit, op wier goedgunstige aanbeveling ik eenige jaren lang door de beschikking der Hooge Regeering een Rijksstudiebeurs heb genoten, ook U betuig ik mijn erkentelijkheid.

Ten slotte mijn hartelijken dank aan collega Deelder aan de H. B. S. te Schiedam, die mijn „General Remarks” met het oog op het Engelsch wel heeft willen doorzien.
STELLINGEN.

I.

Kroeber (Arapaho Dialects p. 92) ziet niet scherp, en dwaalt althans, voorzover het Blackfoot betreft, als hij beweert: "it seems possible that we may ultimately be justified in speaking of Algonkin as truly "holophrastic" or "polysynthetic". But if so these terms will essentially be only a convenient designation for the linguistic process which allows two verbs to consolidate into a single one."

II.

Kroeber (Arapaho Dialects p. 91) dwaalt als hij zegt: "that in "incorporating" languages noun and verb can be combined to form verbs, whereas in other idioms they combine only into nouns."

III.

Als Kroeber (Arapaho Dialects p. 92) beweert dat "the principles of Algonkin verb-formation are in some respects conspicuously different from those of Indo-European", toont hij te weinig inzicht in het oudere Indogermaansch.
IV.

In het Blackfoot komt een parasitische spirant voor, zooals Kroeber (Arapaho Dialects p. 82) die aanneemt voor het Arapaho, Cheyenne en Yurok.

V.

Dr. W. Jones' opmerking over de „stress” (Algonquian Word-formation; Am. Anthrop. N. S. VI p. 375), waaruit blijkt, dat deze klemtoon die syllabe op den voorgrond brengt, die in de combinatie het meest de aandacht moet trekken, gaat niet op voor het Blackfoot.

VI.

De verbale uitgang stempelt in het Blackfoot even tueel elk taalelement, hetzij dit al of niet samengesteld is, tot een verbaalvorm.

VII.

H. Gering's vertaling van Atlakvi'pa 32, 4 (holkve hvilbelpjar) „beim Schlafgemach” is te verwerpen.

VIII.

IX.

D. *durchbrennen* moet in semantisch verband gebracht worden met oostvl. *inbranden*.

X.

De verklaring van den titel van Vondels *Geusevesper* is te zoeken in den toon en de bedoeling der Roomsch-Katholieke Vesper.

XI.

Het taalgebruik van sommige primitieve volken en dat van moderne (realistische en impressionistische) woordkunstenaars vertoonen opmerkelijke punten van overeenkomst, die nog te weinig bestudeerd zijn.

XII.

De door Prof. Kalff terecht gelaakte gewoonte van Huyghens (Studiën p. 364): een sneldicht met een rijm als b.v. *wonderboeck* te besluiten met een vers op *onderbroeck*, is te verklaren uit het betrekkelijk argeloze van dien tijd, die nog niet de uit zelf-analyse geboren schaamte over een dergelijken lust tot onkiesche taal kende.

XIII.

In Schrijnen's opmerking (Nederl. Volkskunde I p. 288) naar aanleiding van het volksrijmpje:

„Een bloem buiten den tijd
Is een bruid of een lijk”.
"Ook hier de verwantschap van dood en huwelijk als het telkens wederkeerend refrein" moet huwelijk vervangen worden door conceptie.

XIV.

Ten onrechte eischt J. de Meester (de Gids, Nov. 1916 p. 373—377) sprookjesachtigheid bij de opvoering van een Indisch drama als de Mṛcchakaṭikā. Even onjuist is zijn qualificatie "kinderlijk" voor dit stuk.

XV.

Oldenberg's geringschatting voor het Hindoedrama, speciaal voor de karakters daarin (Literatur des alten Indien p. 262—275) is te eenzijdig Westersch.

XVI.

Rinclus vs. 460—464:

Hier vormaels brachtmens atopoes
dien wive, die haren man verloes,
enen hoet van wilgen groene geloef.

De dichter maakt hier gebruik van de omstandigheid, dat de wilg het symbool was van onvruchtbaarheid en kuischheid.

XVII.

Ten onrechte vertaalt v. d. Bosch (Zwolsche Herdrukken, Granida vs. 311):

"(het Hof) jaecht de lusten voor, u zijn se toeghe-
[smeten,
het w.w. voorjaghen door: wegpagen. Beter is: nadjagen."
XVIII.

Bij de verklaring van 't ndl. beunhaas dient men althans te denken aan „bastardierte Lehnübersetzung“ (cf. Mauthner, Die Sprache p. 58) van gr. βάναυσος.

XIX.

Dr. E. C. Godée Molsbergen (N. R. C. 16 Sept. 1916 Ochtend) kan niet bewijzen, dat Plaatje (Native Life in South Africa, before and since the European War and the Boer Rebellion) zijn stam- en landgenooten misleidt, als hij spreekt van de wreedheid der Boeren tegenover de oude bevolking.

XX.

Dr. Jac. v. Ginnekenen in zijn brochure „Als ons moedertaalonderwijs nog ooit gezond wil worden“ (p. 18) verwaarloost bij zijn overwaardeering van het „moedertaalonderwijs“ vooral de paedagogische waarde van dat in de Geschiedenis.
PART I.

General remarks.

With reference to the title of this monograph I first of all wish to declare candidly, that it has been chosen from the standpoint of modern Indo-European languages, i.e. that I have in view those prefixes which agree most with our prepositions (praeverbia) and adverbs, and that for the moment I will not and dare not decide, whether these Indo-European grammatical categories represent as many logical categories in Blackfoot, in short, that I am not sure, whether these grammatical distinctions ought to be made in Blackfoot. Cf. F. Misteli, Typen des Sprachbaus, p. 16 *).

*) „Im Siamesischen (sieh hinterind. Abschn. 3 fin.) nimmt die den präpositionalen Begriff enthaltende Verbalwurzel öfters die zweite Stelle ein: au mā „herbeibringen", khīn mā „heraufsteigen", khau mā „her-einkommen", aber: pai mā „gehen, kommen, besuchen” (mā „kommen her, herbei”; khīn „steigen, auf”; khāu lat. „intrare” und „intra’); pen khīn „aufleben”, luk khīn „sich erheben”; khāu pai „hineingehen”; ein klarer präpositioneller oder adverbialer Begriff existiert auch hier nicht, weil man nicht genau weiss, welche Verbalwurzel die andere bestimmt und ob nicht vielmehr beide gleichwertige Bestandteile der Verbindung sind.”
I have not tried to register all the prefixes which might be called prepositional or adverbial, confining myself to only the most obvious of them, and leaving aside all more or less dubious matter, as also the prefixes of a markedly nominal and adjectival character.

In Blackfoot, in Algonkin in general, and in other North American languages the prefixes to be dealt with have already often drawn the attention of students of language. Still, an extensive and I hope a sound treatment of this matter in Blackfoot may not prove superfluous, may even deepen our insight into the structure of Algonkin. But I emphatically declare that I draw conclusions only as far as Blackfoot is concerned, and that I do not wish to follow the example of Jones*) and Michelson**) who both talk of „Algonquian” word-formation, etc., whereas they only deal with material from Fox, one of the dialects of the so-called Central-Algonkin. In this respect Kroeber***), whose publication on Arapaho dialects has been of great service to me, expresses himself much more guardedly, or perhaps I had better, say much more scientifically.

One passage, surely, from this article of Kroeber’s I might have placed as a motto above my treatise scil.: „In short the undetermined and, in the writer’s mind, fundamental problem of Arapaho, Fox, and Algonkin in general is, whether these languages say „he enters-looks”, „he enters-lookingly”, or „enteringly he looks.”

**) W. Jones and T. Michelson, Algonquian (Fox) in Handbook of American Indian Languages I.
And indeed this question is also for Blackfoot of the greatest importance and the solution of the problem which I think I have found, and which is suggested by the material handled in Part II. I will try to work out in the next pages.

The fact that Kroeber and the present author look upon this problem as the basis of the study of Algonkin, tallies with the inference already drawn by Powell: "Thus it is that the study of an Indian language is, to a large extent, the study of its verbs" (Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethnol. I, p. 11). By the side of these words of one of the earlier Americanists, which by their generality sound almost classical, I will, with special reference to Blackfoot, quote the words of one of the latest in this branch of science, namely Uhlenbeck (Some General Aspects of Blackfoot Morphology *) p. 33): "When treating the nouns and other parts of speech, we have seen already how marked a predilection Blackfoot has for verbal constructions, and the knowledge of kindred languages has prepared us to meet also in this dialect with a complicate verbal system absorbing and incorporating all kinds of elements." So Uhlenbeck calls Blackfoot holophrastic or polysynthetic (see: Conjunctief-achtige Modi van het Blackfoot. Versl. Meded. der Kon. Akad. van Wetensch. Afd. Lettk. 4e Reeks. Deel XII. Amsterdam 1913. p. 244.)

Also Jones, Michelson and Kroeber use these terms when speaking about Algonquian dialects which they seem to take for representatives of Algonkin in general. As Blackfoot is therefore also included in their inferences

we must of necessity examine their opinions on this point more closely. That Jones is thinking of holophrasis, becomes evident from these words: „Some of the dialects, like the Ojibwa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi, are disintegrating. The breaking up is not uniform throughout a dialect; it is faster in the regions where civilized influences predominate or play a controlling force, while the purer forms are maintained in the places where ideas of the old-time life and associations have a chance to live and survive” (Algonquian Word-formation. Amer. Anthr. N.S. VI. p. 370) and from p. 384 of the same article: „It would perhaps be more correct to use the term sentence instead of word; because the combined effect of all the elements in a combination is really that of a sentence or an approach to something more like a sentence.” Expressed in this general way no objection can be raised to the opinion of Jones, as concerns Blackfoot. But let us now consider what he thinks of the essential point of holophrasis or polysynthesis, in other words, what his idea of the composition of verbal forms really is. In his treatise on Fox (Handbook of American Indian Languages I) edited and in some places enlarged by Michelson, we read: „The principal process used for grammatical purposes is composition of stems. The stems are almost throughout of such character that they require intimate correlation with other stems, which is brought about by a complete coalescence of the group of component elements. These form a firm word-unit. Excepting a number of particles, the word unit in Algonquian is so clearly defined that there can be no doubt as to the limits of sentence and word.” (A modern linguist not forgetting that language itself is something living would probably have worded that first sentence somewhat
differently). Then we read (op. cit. p. 759): „Most of the elements that enter into composition are so nearly of the same order, that we can not properly speak of prefixes or suffixes”, and a little farther: „The extended use of composition of verbal stems is particularly characteristic of the Algonquian languages. These stems follow one another in definite order. A certain differentiation of the ideas expressed by initial stems and by those following them, which may be designated as secondary stems, may be observed, although it seems difficult to define these groups of ideas with exactness.” And then we get, notwithstanding this „difficulty”, a somewhat vague philosophizing about these two groups, the latter of which is once more divided into two classes — to clear up the „difficulty”, probably!

Let us consider what, according to Jones and Michel-son, is to be stated about these stems.

A. The so-called „initial stems”:
1°. they are capable at times of standing alone, with the function of adverbs.
2°. an initial stem can enter into composition with only a formative and express an independent statement, though not always with a sharply defined meaning.
3°. many „initial stems” occur in combination with each other, sometimes followed by so-called secondary stems, sometimes not.

N.B. Amongst the 123 „initial stems” which Michel-son adds to the examples of Jones, only a few stand in „initial” position.

B. The „secondary stems”:
1°. they never occur alone.
2°. they are rarely found in conjunction with only a formative.
3°. they sometimes occupy the first place, even in a nominal form like tei'māni canoe (Handbook, p. 793).

4°. some of them are frequent in nominal forms (ib. p. 794), and look more like „incorporated” nouns than like verbal stems.

5°. according to Jones the so-called „secondary stems of the second order” show a general similarity with „initial stems” in the ideas they express.

6°. Michelson remarks (ibid. p. 802): „that at present there is no reason why the so-called second class of the second order should not be relegated to oblivion and the entire body merged with the stems of the first class of the second order. The proposed division of stems of the first class of the second order into two subdivisions strikes me as sound in principle; but too few secondary stems have been thus far pointed out to make the division feasible at present.”

I will not follow Michelson in his use of subjective, uncritical expressions and say that the whole conception of Jones and himself „strikes” me as forced and doctrinal. Without, for the present, pronouncing my private opinion on this head, which would in any case necessitate a thorough study of the Fox material, I leave it to the reader to weigh and compare the statements made sub A and B. Only I should like to draw the reader’s attention to the fact that according to Michelson himself the stems of the second order practically form one whole; — that some noun-incorporations proper should be left out of consideration; — further, that amongst these „secondary stems” there are a number which in meaning strongly resemble initial stems; — that, moreover, initial and secondary stems have some common characteristics after all; cf. Kroeber’s remark,
cited on p. 11. Only one more statement of Jones I should like to insert here (Algonquian Word-formation, p. 402): "The components seem to stand toward each other in the position of qualifiers, the sense of one qualifying the sense of another with an effect of directing the meaning toward a particular direction. But whatever be the influence at work, the result is a specialization of meaning, not only of the single member in the group but of all the members as they stand together with reference to one another. The stems seem charged with a latent meaning which becomes evident only when they appear in certain relations; out of those relations they stand like empty symbols. It is important to emphasize the fact that the order of stems in a group is psychologically fixed." Put side by side with the remarks mentioned sub A 1 and 2, B 2, 3 and 4 it is not easy to see how Jones has come to the conclusion worded in the last sentence but one. As to the last sentence, we shall see later on that this "psychologically fixed place" does not necessarily lead to the making of such a psychologically lifeless classification into initial and secondary stems.

In his "Arapaho Dialects," p. 90 sqq. Kroeber expatiates on the Arapaho verb and that of Algonkin in general, following Jones-Michelson. Kroeber starts from "the more conservative premises of prefix, stem, and suffix." His main conclusions are as follows:

10. "Word-forming prefixes, in turn, are often difficult to separate from independent words. Thus, täs-i- and tcän-i- mean "on" and "under" in verbs; but provided with the locative suffix -i-hi' they are adverbs which stand alone. Just so xou-wu-hu', "straight", and xanou, "immediately", are employed, in the forms xou- and
xanou-, as prefixes to verbs. Verbs themselves, like tcäsiš, "to begin", and Sa\(\text{a}^\text{nu}\)-ku-h, "to follow", are used as prefixes to other verbs" (p. 90).

20. "It is true that even when these elements are themselves verbs they are not used merely with the personal suffixes, but that second elements such as -hi-, -ni-, -ku-, -xa-, -h- are added to them. Now these added elements, which are frequent on indubitable verb stems, have all been listed as suffixes. But the possibility is by no means precluded that these "suffixes" whose significance usually is of the vaguest and most general, are themselves the real stem of the verb; in which case the preceding element, which is so much more specific in meaning as usually to carry the principal idea conveyed by the complete word, would after all be a prefix of the adverbial or prepositional type familiar from so many other languages" (p. 90).

30. "That Arapaho, like Shoshonean and some other American languages, possesses true compound verbs — verbs functioning as such and composed of two verbs — is thus probable" (p. 91).

40. "In short, it would seem that the Arapaho verb is frequently, perhaps normally, compounded of elements which themselves either are, or can become, verbal in force" (p. 91).

50. "In fine, the Algonkin verb, so far as Arapaho is representative of it, can not in any off-hand manner be broken up into the usual elements of "prefix", "stem", and "suffix"; and any attempt to apply such a procedure leads quickly to contradictions and inconsistencies that reveal the arbitrariness of the method" (p. 92).

More politely than truthfully Kroeber continues: "The late Dr. William Jones reached exactly the same con-
clusion as regards the Fox dialect” (p. 92). For Jones, it is true, says: „Most of the elements that enter into composition are so nearly of the same order, that we can not properly speak of prefixes or suffixes” (Handbook p. 759), but as we have seen, instead of those old categories he uses the new names „initial stems”, „secondary stems of the first order”, „secondary stems of the second order”, and „secondary co-ordinative stems”, to which he wishes to give a fixed place in the word-compound, which is the very characteristic of prefixes and suffixes.

Still greater is Kroeber’s deviation from the truth when he says: „That the principles of Algonkin verb formation are in some respects conspicuously different from those of Indo-European Dr. Jones has made very clear; and a realization of this fact is the first requisite to a true understanding of Algonkin structure” (p. 92). This mistake may perhaps be due to Kroeber’s warm sympathy with and admiration of Jones, whose true merits are, however, great enough to enable him to dispense with that erroneously ascribed to him here.

Uhlenbeck (Internationales Archiv f. Ethnographie, Bnd. XXIV 1916, p. 37), when reviewing this pamphlet of Kroeber’s, has already referred to this passage and has made the following remarks on this head:

10. „What do we know, after all, about Indo-European verb-structure? .... As I take it, the Indo-European verb-formation is just as enigmatic as the Algonquian verb-structure.”

20. „that the students in that field [scil. of American Indian linguistics] have some more or less erroneous ideas about Indo-European, and that for that reason they had better leave the Old World languages alone, when
discussing the fundamental traits of the aboriginal languages of America”.

30. „we can expect more light to be thrown on Indo-European or Semitic by a thorough study of phenomena of relatively „primitive” languages than vice-versa”.

This is surely sufficient to put Kroeber’s implicitly pronounced assertion on Indo-European simply aside, but we might even make a positive attack on his contention that „the principles of Algonkin verb-formation are in some respects conspicuously different from those of Indo-European” by pointing to such works as: P. Persson, Wurzelerweiterung und Wurzelvariation 1891 and P. Persson, Indogermanische Wortforschungen 1912. See, moreover, some articles and notes of R. M. Meyer (Indogermanische Forschungen XII, p. 46), K. Brugmann (I. F. XII, p. 150), Johansson (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache und Literatur XV, p. 227 and Zeitschrift f. Deutsche Philologie 31, p. 296) and others, all of which point to the fact that there are undoubtedly Indogermanists who admit the possibility of polysynthetic verbal structure or at least of the composition of verbal stems in Indo-European and are fain to show some traces of this phenomenon.

In conclusion Kroeber contends: „there seem to be only three possible descriptions of the Algonkin verb that have a usable meaning” (p. 93) scil.: „The first interpretation is that of the verb as the result of a process of composition similar to that of noun composition, but extended in Algonkin also to verbs. This essentially is the conclusion of Dr. Jones; and it is also the inference of the present writer. But it cannot be too clearly recognized that even if this explanation is in substance the correct one we do not
yet really know anything as to the rules and conditions and limitations of this verb-compounding.

The second interpretation of the Algonkin verb is that of a stem followed by a greater or less number of suffixes. In this case the "initial" stem of Dr. Jones would be the only true stem, his "secondary stems" the suffixes. In support of this explanation is the fact that the initial elements of verbs come nearest to having the power of forming words by themselves, in both Arapaho and Fox; and the statement of Dr. Jones (Am. Anthr. N. S. VI, p. 401) that on the whole initial stems more definitely perform the function of verbs. If this view is correct, the type of Arapaho verb-building would be somewhat analogous to that of Eskimo.

The third possible interpretation is also that of a verb stem with affixes, the word-forming ones, however, being chiefly or wholly prefixes, the stem coming last, except for grammatical endings. In favour of this last view is the fact that practically all the "secondary stems of the second order" given by Dr. Jones are naturally translated by words which in most other languages are verbs, whereas substantially all his cited "initial stems" and "secondary stems of the first order" can actually be rendered, without much distortion as adverbs, nouns, auxiliary verbs, or modal particles. It is not certain how far Dr. Jones's examples of each class are fully representative of that class, his list obviously aiming at well translated instances rather than at fullness; but it is clear that his own presentation of evidence leaves the interpretation of the "secondary stems of the second order" as being true verb stems defined by prefixes, in a position where it cannot be summarily dismissed."
In special reference to Dr. Jones's sketch of Fox revised and enlarged by Dr. Michelson for the "Handbook", Kroeber gives his view on the Fox verb. He says (p. 95): "The secondary stems of the first order are clearly not the principal stems of the verb-complexes. The "initial stems" may be verbs. If they are, the "secondary stems of the second order" are either suffixes or other verbs compounded with the "initial stems". That they are suffixes does not seem likely from the character of the examples given. If their number is substantially limited to those quoted, their suffix nature might be conceived of; but if their number is indefinitely large they cannot well be anything but true verb stems. The evidence of quantity, then, becomes as decisive on this point as that of quality; and this evidence must be awaited with interest from Dr. Michelson or some other authority competent to carry on Dr. Jones's analysis. Meanwhile the strong probability is that if the "initial stems" are truly verbal in nature, the normal Fox verb is a compound binary verb. [Why "binary"? or, in other words, what has become of the poor "secondary stems of the first order"?] If, on the other hand, the "initial stems" are essentially adverbial, prepositional, or modal in quality, they deserve only to be ranked as prefixes, even if some of them may have reached this condition by the way of once having been subsidiary verbs; and in that case Fox, and with it no doubt Algonkin in general, possesses verbs that are built up around a kernel of a normal verbal stem or root, as in most languages, and these stems or roots are the "secondary stems of the second order".

In my opinion we have now given sufficient space to Kroeber which, to be sure, he fully deserves on ac-
count of his careful and critical way of reasoning, and we now know his view. So we had better summarize at once what we have to find fault with in his conclusions and what inferences may be drawn on this head by an investigation of the Blackfoot material.

On p. 3 we already quoted Uhlenbeck when he deals with the "marked predilection of Blackfoot for verbal constructions". The words, e.g., which have an independent form in -u a are verbal: they have the function of a 3 prs. sg. (Uhlenbeck, Some General Aspects, p. 9 and 16); nomina loci with prefixed i t - and ending in - o p i, and nomina instrumenti with prefix i x t - and ending in - o p i are 1 prs. plur. inclusive; many personal names are verbal forms e.g.: suyéniki Kills-in-water etc. sub s u i - Part II; an adjective used attributively is generally an inseparable verbal prefix (loc. cit. p. 18); used predicatively it is an intransitive verb. The majority of pronouns are often verbalized; the independent cardinals (animate and inanimate) occur with verbal endings just like different other series of numerals (e.g. to count days and nights, or one's age, the ordinalia). Pure verbal forms (and with these I mean those forms which, looked upon from the point of view of modern English, we should call verbal) possess, moreover, an almost unlimited capacity to absorb all sorts of elements. Local and instrumental case-suffixes and post-positions, e.g., do not exist in Blackfoot, but the language incorporates local and instrumental prefixes into the verb. Also noun-incorporation plays a rather important part (loc. cit. p. 58—59). With special regard to the compositional power of the Blackfoot verb, we may, starting like Kroeber from "the more conservative premises of prefix, stem, and suffix", state the following:
Prefixes have sometimes arisen because a verbal root was very often used as the first part of a compound (cf. Uhlenbeck, Some General Aspects, p. 59, who also mentions some suffixes of similar origin). See in Part II e.g.: amat-, mat-, omat-, aumatap-, kots(s)-, askak-, apan-, tap-, uks-, etc. Also compare the results of Kroeber, p. 8 sub 2.

Many prefixes also occur as independent adverbs, although they have always a suffix -ots(i), -ants(i), -ists(i), in this function, e.g.: akimónts, akónts, amítoênts, anáukoênts, apámoênts, apatóêntsk'spóênts, námists, ksisâêntsi, etc. (cf. the similar results of Kroeber, p. 7 sub 1).

Many prefixes may acquire verbal force (cf. p. 8 sub 4, where Kroeber draws the same conclusion); examples are to be found Part II passim.

The elements referred to sub 3° may be turned into verbal forms by means of a verbal ending, occasionally preceded by a verbalizing suffix or incorporated noun.

Probably this verbalizing suffix does not even deserve that name and may also turn out to be a compositional element with a very vague general meaning. Cf. the notes of Kroeber on suffixes (loc. cit. p. 105—106): "What at first appears to be the stem preceding this suffix is in most cases an element which itself is normally a prefix. Whether the "prefix" tcäbi- or the "suffix" -xa is the true verbal "stem" remains to be determined as in so many other cases".

As such apparent suffixes seem, e.g., to occur -ap(i)-, ixk(-ôk-), -ixp(-ôp-), -ixt(-ôt-), though they also occur as so-called prefixes, sometimes even as independent verbs, e.g.: ixtô; see Part II ap-, ixk-, ixp-, ixt-.
6°. At first sight the last element to which the verbal ending is joined, looks very much like the verbal stem proper; but that they are by no means always original verbs and that, indeed, the verbal ending as such turns the whole combination into a verbal form is proved by forms like:

isk̕á̱x̕kuspin̔u she had earth on her cheeks nbt. 73, 16 (cf. ksá̱x̕kum earth; motsts̕pina cheek; -iu is verbal ending).

ki mátopiu and he had also an arrow nbt. 46, 1 (mat- again, also; cf. âps̕si arrow).

iiks̕ímiko the snow was deep nbt. 120, 8 (îk(s)- very; imi- deep; koni, rarely used for koniskuyi snow).

aiks̕ists̕ín̔kin̔inau then she had done skimming (lit.: then she had completed the legbones-soup) nbt. 11, 16 (ai- see Part II; ksist- done, Part II; nits̕ín̔kinâni my soup of the legbones).

7°. It surely follows from the Blackfoot material in Part II, that in every form every element has its „psychologically fixed place”, but this place may be quite different in another combination and depends entirely on the order in which the elements of thought rise before the speaker’s mind, owing to their greater or lesser importance or to the association of ideas. Thus the element, which in one case heads the compound and might be called a prefix, has in another combination changed places with what in the first case might have been called stem or even suffix.

8°. Besides, owing to their vagueness, some elements may occur more than once in one complex e. g.: a i-, i t(s)-, i x t-.

As we see (especially sub 1°, 2°, 3°, 5°) there is indeed a remarkably great similarity between the facts in Ara-
paho and Blackfoot and also between Fox and Blackfoot, as became evident from the careful examination by Kroeber and ourselves of Dr. Jones's results. And if the present author draws a conclusion from these facts, which does somewhat differ from that of Jones and Kroeber, this is mainly due to some of the other characteristics, noted about Blackfoot verb-structure (sub 6°, 7°, 8°). For on account of these, there can be no question in Blackfoot of the even for Fox very doctrinary stem-classification of Jones, the weak points of which are brought forward by the characteristics noted on p. 5—6.

Nor should I like to say with Kroeber (see above p. 12) that "the verbs are built up around a kernel of a normal verbal stem or root", nor speak of "compound binary verbs". And for this very reason I cannot agree with Kroeber when he says about holophrasis and polysynthesis: "these terms will essentially be only a convenient designation for the linguistic process which allows two verbs to consolidate into a single one." The less because we may get a quite different conception of holophrasis, as it is found in Blackfoot and perhaps in Algonkin in general, if we consider what Jespersen (A Modern English Grammar II Syntax I. p. 6) says on the verb in modern English, scil. that it is especially sentence-building. As we stated already, any word or group of words may be a verb in such languages; or, what is equally true, any word there can be sentence-building. So, we can not, as a rule, find a kernel (the verb) and other parts, but the whole sentence is a verb, cf. Jones's statement quoted on p. 4. E.g.: aukanáiksistsipuyisi when they all stood in a circle nbt. 73, 13; itápaisauàkstsitsikiòp then we began
to put on other moccasins nbt. 29, 2; āitamauksoyiāu
they ate the raw entrails, being happy nbt. 166, 1; tām-
anistσipitosauξkyapksiuaie then he suddenly threw up
his head out of the water right in front nbt. 79, 33.
But we must not lose sight of the fact that, supposing
the present view, nowadays taken by grammarians of
modern European languages, — starting from the sen-
tence as being a unit, and the expression of one thought
or feeling — to be the right one, the difference with
Blackfoot c. s. is not great. It is really only a gradual
difference, in so far that the unit of sentence in such
„primitive” languages as the Algonquian is much stronger
(in consequence of which, e. g., incorporated nouns are
frequently as it were only represented by an index),
and on the other hand it is more capricious and un-
systematical and consequently more difficult, because
the order of words, which in a language such as mo-
dern English has even made inflexion of forms super-
fluous, is much less fixed. Interesting on this point is
also the following remark of Jespersen: „Very often
such a verb form [in the old Arian (Indogermanic) lan-
guages, as well as in some languages belonging to other
groups] was sufficient in itself to express a whole com-
posite thought; what could not be incorporated into the
verb form, stood more or less isolated, outside the sen-
tence proper, in what may be called extraposition. In
course of time, the tendenz has been to strip the verbal
idea or root idea of these accessory notions; but though
in a form like must there are no longer any indica-
tions of person, number, tense, or mood, most other verb forms
still retain some or all of these accessory ideas...” (O.
Jespersen. op. c. 1. 44). Another student of Indo-European
linguistics, therefore, who accepts for the ancient Indo-
European, as well as for some other languages a holophrasis differing somewhat from that meant by Kroeber. The more reason for me, not to consider myself bound down to the three interpretations of the Algonkin verb proposed by Kroeber, although he remarks in a somewhat prophetic tone: "until the science of language is revolutionized by entirely new methods of thinking about it, there seem to be only three possible descriptions of the Algonkin verb that have a usable meaning" (see above, p. 10). And I will make bold to propose a fourth interpretation which I consider documented and explained in the material dealt with in Part II:

"The Blackfoot verb and, — seeing the apparent agreement with the facts given by Jones and Kroeber — the Algonkin verb in general, is a compound of various elements (verbal, adverbial, nominal, etc.) characterized as a verbal form by means of a verbal ending".
PART II.

List of prefixes.

\( ai, \text{ au} \).  

Monophthongizations of \( ai \) - (scil. \( a-, \alpha- \)) are frequent immediately before -s- and perhaps also before -a- (cf. s\( ai \)) e. g.: 

i\( xt'\text{stuyimiu (the people) wintereu with nbt. 8, 11.} \)
\( a\alpha\text{xkaiin he was on his way home nbt. 77, 9.} \)
\( a\alpha\text{xkyapipiksiu (the war-party) ran home nbt. 18, 2.} \)

In many other cases we have to do with a prothetic i- and not with a rest of \( ai \) (as it seemed a moment to the present author) e. g.: 

i\( sk\alpha\text{xkosii they stretched their hands back (i. e. they went back to help) nbt. 24, 9.} \)
\( isks\alpha\text{xkuspinlu she had earth on her cheek nbt. 73, 16.} \)
\( ist\u00f3is\text{diau it was winter, when they went on the raid nbt. 23, 13.} \)
\( iskun\text{ataxkumiks those that shot hard nbt. 12, 14.} \)
\( isik\text{atoiixstsikuyi Monday nbt. 231, 1.} \)
\( isikotuyiks Black-tails nbt. 7, 20. \)

As far as I can see, ai-, au- is the only prefix that is also used as an infix in the strict sense of the word, e. g.:
kaiíxtsipiniki *Spotted-kills* (woman's name).
paióta *Fly*(ing) (woman's name).
káiiskstakipápuakau *he had had a beaver-dream* nbt. 84, 10.
ámaie paiískiua *over there is somebody corralling* nbt. 120, 19.
káiistoxsínai *he stuck himself* nbt. 21, 21 (cf. ibidem: ixtsiksístoxsínai *he stuck himself with*).
paiískiua *(the people) was corralling* obt. 18, 1.
ánnooxk káiokúixk *this night* obt. 13, 11.
káikitoxpaipiínai maiái *she just jumped to her robe* nbt. 138, 17.
káukoxtókiaiks *they had only their ears left* nbt. 18, 1.
áikaukoxtóskunákiuaie *he just shot with it* nbt. 183, 12.
The prefix aí-, au- *(just like it-)* may be found more than once in the same form; e.g.:
áitsauaipáskaii otoxkémaiks *his wives were the only ones that did not dance* nbt. 73, 1.
ki áiaianikapimatsiuaie *and he had him for a single man with him* nbt. 84, 8.
itauáuakoáu *we would chase* nbt. 1, 22.
áiiaiákapotsiu *then he began to pack his meat (on a horse)* nbt. 2, 8.
Syntactical.
1^o. aí-, au- has a durative force (in contrast to it- that expresses perfectivity as well as „being defined as to place or time or circumstances”). So aí-, au- is frequent in forms of the temporal conjunctive, and of the indicative used as such, to express the unlimited space of time, out of which one special moment is pointed at by a form with it-.
Examples:
áipóskáii *they were dancing* nbt. 72, 1.
autúsì in spring (when it is spring) nbt. 76, 23.
In other words we can say that with a i -, a u - the situation of things is summarized, and that with i t - forms the narrative proceeds. E. g.:
áipixtsiu she was far away nbt. 125, 26.
áupokakaiimuiaie she went home with her nbt. 124, 12.
áukzaikaiakaiau; omá kipitákeu itsipúau all of them slept; that old woman got up nbt. 128, 17.
2°. a i -, a u - is also iterative and then it may be rendered by the English verb „to use”. E. g.:
kaiístoxsínai he stuck himself (scil. the father of each married man who was killed) nbt. 21, 21.
auánit say every time obt. 2, 2.
aipíska sì . . . áuaksipuyíau when they danced . . . they stood in a circle nbt. 72, 4.
itauákimau then (the people) chased the buffalo nbt. 3, 6.
áuauáksiixk they were shaking their heads (= dancing) nbt. 85, 4.
ánni nitáinausínai that way he used to dress nbt. 73, 34.
ástxmsatapiksíxp ótokoàuaists then they would throw out their kidneys nbt. 1, 29.
asótsimáni itaisínàkiiauaists they made marks on the parfleches (N.B. i t - is local) nbt. 2, 19.
itauámiaupiu = (the people) began to get on their horses nbt. 3, 6.

aini- cf. sub in - below; down.

aip(i)stsi k- a little; scarcely; cf. sub ipi tsik-.

aist(s)-, a st(s)- (cf. a i -, s a i -) close, near to.
10. frequent as independent verbal stem, i.e. only followed by a verbalizing suffix:
aïstösi when they are close by nbt. 77, 3.
äiikaästsiu (the time) is getting very near nbt. 85, 24.
aïstösi when it is close to the time (that . . .) nbt. 77, 6.
itstöksi äistöyi if some one comes nbt. 175, 19.
20. combined with the verbal stem -å x k-, -o x k-
"to go, to come". E.g.:
aïstökkima moyïst he got near the lodges nbt. 81, 5.
maxkaistökóyis that he might get closer to him nbt.
so, 6.
otäistökokoaiuaia when she came near them nbt.
110, 6.
OTSitsifkaistokokoaiuaia she was very close to them
nb. 110, 12*).
aïstökümiau omím otápimanoài they came near their
lodge nbt. 24, 7.
aïistökoyiu omí únnasini she got near the men nbt.
168, 28.
aïistökixk when we were near to nbt. 7, 2.
aïstökkim he got near it nbt. 79, 32.
akomátaïstökixp we shall get close there nbt. 26, 27.
30. combined with various prefixes:
åxkaistsaipiskoxtöaiiks let us charge on them close (i.e.
when they are close by) nbt. 17, 7.
mâtsitoxkxanuai stomaxkâii they all ran again to him
nb. 208, 9.
40. aistsíkai-Pekâniua the Peigan tribe of not long
ago (lit.: near-old) nbt. 203, 9.

*) -aistok- stands for -aistök. Examples of such inconstant
aspiration are numerous.
10. **ak**(s)- nearly, about to, soon; cf. **autz**m-ak- almost, about to.

10. seldom as independent verbal stem:
nitáiaik I shall; cf. nitózkót I can.

20. as a prefix with the meaning nearly, soon:
áksikoko it was nearly night obt. 58, 1.
itáksinetsiu he was nearly drowned obt. 64, 20.
áksimiu he was about to drink obt. 64, 10.
itákotoyiuaie he was nearly taking it nbt. 158, 22.
tautzmákotoáu I am nearly taking it nbt. 158, 24.
ákanetóyiau they were going to separate nbt. 2, 30.
ákapináko towards morning nbt. 27, 8.

30. nearly as a tense-prefix of the future:
ákamistutsôp we shall move up nbt. 1, 15.
ákopakiop we shall move nbt. 1, 18.
ákitakáuop we shall make a circle (to chase the buffalo) nbt. 3, 1.
nitáksipzsk I shall dance nbt. 73, 8.
mátakoxtotakixp I will not take from them nbt. 78, 2.
nitáksam I shall hunt obt. 7, 9.
kitákáuarotózpíanan we shall eat you obt. 8, 26.

40. The next future seems to be expressed by the combination a i - a k -; e.g.:
annózk áiáksikókuixk now this coming night nbt. 119, 6.
áiáksistuyiu it will be cold obt. 13, 16.
ánnozkaie nitúkska aiáksipzskàu now it is (only) one (night more) they will dance obt. 21, 30.
kitaáiakozkót I shall give it to you obt. 59, 8.

50. In connection with the adverbial meaning of a k(s) - about to, almost, the sense of a future in
the past is rather intelligible. These forms often have nearly the same value as those with iterative a i-
(cf. a i- sub 2°):
ákánistsiai the would tell her nbt. 1, 33.
ótsítákantkaii the when he was to go home nbt. 77, 26.
átôsaie ákitanistsiaiia when she came back, he would
say to her nbt. 2, 1.
átâkskunakina the was going to shoot again obt.
30, 28.
áktsmzsikomoauaie it would be broken for him nbt. 2, 3.
ákitomonimai he would roll (the marrow) in (the
manifold) nbt. 2, 5.
ákitapxkstsimaie he would burst it by chewing it
nbt. 2, 6.
ákâutsim they would take it nbt. 3, 9.
áiszmoyixk atáksamiixk after a long while he was
going to hunt obt. 23, 6.
N.B. omí einiua tûkskîmi ãukâktxsënikiop we shall
kill one of the buffalo nbt. 165, 32.

2°. ak(s)- round. For different forms see: u âsok-,
u âsok-.
1°. as an independent verbal stem, only followed by
a verbalizing suffix:
tâmitapxksmîlni the then it circled around to nbt.
156, 25.
2°. as a prefix in nominal forms:
akókatsists the circle-camp nbt. 18, 12.
Perhaps also in: amói aâskó itóto he came to a
round hill nbt. 198, 1, although this form may be
regarded as verbal like:
itakítsoaskuyiu the Round-forest nbt. 14, 25.
3°. as a verbal prefix:
ákakàuhop we shall go in a circle after buffalo nbt. 90, 23.

aitakópiau they sat in a circle nbt. 45, 22.
ánakkipuyiáu they stood in a circle nbt. 72, 4.
itauákichipuyimiauaie they were all standing around them nbt. 41, 11.

N.B. aukanáiksistsipuyisi when they all stood in a circle nbt. 73, 13. It is doubtful whether „in a circle” is expressed here by ak- (c. q. to be found in auk-) or by -ksist- (cf. 1º. ksist- sub 3º).

ak(ai)-, ak(au)-, (i)kai-; cf. i k-.

These prefixes are to be divided in two rather different semantic groups with the meanings much, many and already. A similar expansion of use and sense is to be noted by the prefix a m a i - (omai-, umai-, imai-) which besides replaces a k a i - already after a negative, e.g. sauumai-, matomai-; cf. a m a i - and Uhlenbeck, Some General Aspects p. 49. Especially for this reason I did not hesitate to identify a k a i - much with a k a i - old, already.

So we have the following meanings:
1º. many, much, plenty of.

a) as an element of nominal forms or as an indefinite pronoun, animate and inanimate (when used predicatively this is verbalized):

ákáitapisko many people together (= town).
ákáitapi many people nbt. 121, 1.
iskakauoyi auáuaxsists there is plenty of food nbt 76, 19.
skí'miks akaiími many mares nbt. 224, 14.
mátakauda istuyists it was not many years nbt. 224, 16.
Kýáiaákáiimmi Many-bears (name of a Blood-Indian man).
akaiimmixki *they were many* obt. 3, n°. 11.
itakaiimi *notàsinàniks then were many* our horses
nbt. 224, 17.
akauóyi *many (were)* nbt. 224, 38.
b) as an independent adverb ending in -oxtsy; sometimes used in a verbal form:
akóxtsi *apótxsoxtsi very far north* obt. 5, 1.
aká'xtsiaie *otokà'ni far down was* her hair nbt. 137, 6.
c) as a prefix of verbal forms:
itakáutotau *he made plenty of fire (a big fire)* nbt. 176, 8.
nimátaikautsipa *I do not often swim.*
2°. old, already. On account of the latter meaning we
might call a k a i - a prefix of the perfect tense („ein
perfektisches Praefix“, as German philologists would
say), just like k s i s t - (N.B. they are often found
together).

a) with substantives former, ancient:
*akái-Pekániua the ancient Peigan tribe* obt. 5, 1;
nbt. 1, 1; nbt. 51, 6.
*akái-taplua the ancient people* obt. 57, 1.
b) as a verbal prefix already:
*akauksikìnàkiminaí she had already turned into bones*
obt. 25, 12.
*àkaitautsiksistopin (the people) was already sitting* nbt.
199, 11.
nikáumotsiaiu *I have killed (all those)* obt. 48, 1.
kikátoxkoxkemi *you have got another wife* obt. 38, 19.
*àkatoxkoxkeminai he has got another wife* obt. 38, 16.
*àkainim omík apáuk he had seen there a flint-knife*
obt. 47, 18.
kikáuxkoi *you have got something to eat* obt. 37, 3.
*íkaumatapakimiu she was already hammering* nbt. 11, 21.
27

nikáinitau I have killed him obt. 46, 25.
žkaumitauâsiu he had turned into a dog obt. 11, 6.
žkaitaiksistsauyiau they had already done eating obt. 3, n°. 10.
žkainauâsiu he has become a chief obt. 53, 28.
žkainim he had seen it obt. 46, 13.
žkaioikau he has fallen asleep obt. 22, 16.
žkainli they were dead already obt. 46, 9.
okáinokai he was already seen by him obt. 20, 8.
nikáinitânan we have killed her obt. 28, 16.
kikáipxsânsân you have said wrong obt. 54, 27.
áikaisstaipyâpsapinai he kept looking about farther away nbt. 143, 9.
žkaiszpmomatò it is already a long time that she started obt. 39, 23.
žkaiszmo it is already a long time obt. 26, 22.
kaiikspiixtsiau they went already very far off nbt. 130, 1.
mí’nists žkaitsii the berries are ripe already nbt. 4, 13.
kikáisksinok he already knows you nbt. 120, 20.
ýkaitsistapu he was going away already nbt. 73, 24.
žkauomazksimiau they had already got big obt. 25, 13.
c) From the meaning mentioned sub b may be also derived the use of this prefix with the value of still which is found to be in some cases the best suitable translation for the combination ok-anist- (cf. ma-nist- sub 8°). The single variant ok- occurs: okáinokai he was already seen by him obt. 20, 8.
Here follow the places where okanist- has been met with:
okánistaiixtsixpiaiks they were still there obt. 64, 14.
okáintsitaixtsixp they were still there nbt. 198, 17.
ki okánistaia Kitspiaie and it was still smoking obt. 19, 15.
okánistauamotsixpi they still invite each other nbt. 54, 8.
okánistaixtsixpi they (inan.) are still there nbt. 54, 19.
okánistaixtsixp (his lodge) was still there nbt. 153, 26.
d) Remarkable is akai- with imperatives:
âkaitòpi ṭu sit down!
ân̩ni âkaitaupit ṭu sit there for a moment! obt. 20, 12.
If we may recognize in these forms the perfectic akai-, we may compare constructions like Dutch nu flink doorgeloopen! nu den lofzang aangeheven!

(a)kap- often; from ak- (akai-) + ap- (cf. ap-).
Compare for similar formation and meaning a map-.
The form i kap- is also noted:
mátaksikàpoxtskûnakiøpa we will not often shoot with it nbt. 183, 5.
Examples: âikapisimianistutsimaie he does it often secretly.
âikapisimiitapaumixkau he is often fishing alone secretly.
nitsikákapanistutsixp I often do it.

(a)kim- ikim- at (to) the upper end of the lodge.
The independent adverbial form is often met with:
akimóxts stûmitakaupiu at the upper end he sat down obt. 45, 1.
akimóxts at the upper end nbt. 22, 14.
akimóxtsim in the upper part of the lodge nbt. 156, 32.
1°. as an independent verbal stem only followed by a verbalizing suffix:
itsikimau he went to the upper part of the lodge nbt. 124, 4.
tâmikimò he went to the upper end of the lodge nbt. 136, 15.

2°. as a prefix:
nánauaikimâuoyinai he finally went to the upper part of the lodge nbt. 125, 3.
etsekîmaixtsenea otséuanoâie their gambling-wheel was lying in the west-end of the lodge. de J. de J. bt. 43, 23. About this place Uhlenbeck, Philol. Notes *) p. 27 says: "itsikîmaixtsinai('a). The prefix kim- refers to the upper end of the lodge". Indeed the interpretation of de J. de J. is supported by no other place.

\[a\chi k\] - is untranslatable.

Etymologically \[a\chi k\] - may be connected with the relative ending \[-a\chi k\] (s), cf. sub II (-pi).

Syntactically \[a\chi k\] - is in the first place the characteristic of the final conjunctive. Moreover it is not only prefixed to a conjunctive, but also to indicative forms, and forms of the so-called false final conjunctive (cf. Uhlenbeck, Conjunctief-achtige Modi p. 17). Another false conjunctivus finalis is found with intransitive verbal stems in \[-a\chi k\] ; from these stems abstracta are formed with the suffix \[-ni\] and to these \[a\chi k\] -, \[na\chi k\] -, etc. is prefixed (ibid. p. 18). The

a $\chi k$- forms are made negative by means of sta-i-, sta-u-, perhaps a phonetical secondary variant of sa-i-, sau- in the proximity of the k.
In a polysynthetic language like Blackfoot, where it is so difficult to distinguish between the syntactic and the morphologic, and where e.g. a firmly maintained characterization of modes and tenses hardly could be pointed out, it will prove best to consider a $\chi k$- morphologically. a $\chi k$- stands in 3 morphologically different constructions and in each of them it may perform various syntactic functions.
I. a $\chi k$- c. indicativo.
   a) purely relative (to translate by our adjective clauses):
   ânnik kokúyik na$\chi$ksók when I sleep during the nights obt. 67, n°. 6.
   ómiaie kínnuna a$\chi$kauánistsiu there is the one, our father told us about obt. 28, 22.
   b) with final, sometimes consecutive meaning:
   â$\chi$ko$\chi$tsitokopstai (give them) that she might make soup with them obt. 38, 22.
   a$\chi$kitsoyiu (tell him) that he may eat obt. 32, 23.
   púxsapuk, kito$\chi$kémauaiks ka$\chi$kitsáipiauaini come here, that you take your wives out obt. 43, 28.
   a$\chi$kitsoatai (make haste) that we may eat it obt. 37, 9.
   ka$\chi$kótomoki (there will be none) that will take (this backfat) from you obt. 42, 16.
   â$\chi$kitsipim (tell her) that she should enter obt. 18, 23.
N. B. The verbal abstracta in -ani may also find here a place:
   ká$\chi$kstatakâtatskâni (I told you) that you should never have a partner obt. 53, 17.
   ma$\chi$kâ$\chi$kûitškâni (he was always thinking) that he might have a fight obt. 4, n°. 19.
kéka, názkipitapaiakâni wait a moment, that I may have a chance to confess.
c) with potential meaning:
káxkst-moxtôki they might hear you obt. 44, 15.
áxkautz-mâkotapôtsiu he might soon be here with the pieces of the carcase obt. 27, 3.
káxksistskôkixpinan (I am afraid) that you might make us dirty obt. 33, 19.
sâksist káxksistskôki go out, you might make us dirty obt. 56, 21.
náxksínauyisitoki he might hit me obt. 40, 8.
káxkoxtôki they might hear you obt. 41, 32.
axkîtsitokîokîmoki (if it is a long time) he may get angry with us obt. 60, 11.
d) to indicate a great probability, a modestly expressed certainty (Eng. auxiliary, „must”).
máxkaukoxtsok ūsi it must have been given to him by his son-in-law obt. 37, 4.
axkáumainitâyii they must be crazy obt. 46, 11.
áxksistsinikalakakanistaistutoiyîutsiksâie it must be a long time, that he has treated him that way obt. 40, 12.
e) as imperative (adhortative), cf. above sub c.
áxksikamâuopi let us walk fast obt. 62, 13.
kaxkitsápitsîm you had better fill your pipe obt. 45, 14.
káxkotaxkòspuaixx (he would say:) you are wanted to stretch your hands out obt. 35, 10.
kaxkitápaïsìma you might go and touch! obt. 42, 3.
áxkaxkâpiaïiks let us take them home obt. 53, 24.
áxksikakòtoaili ki áxkitaxkaiop let us only take (the backfat) and let us go home obt. 44, 24.
áxkstaisâmoyi let it not be a long time obt. 60, 8.
The same may also be expressed by forms without a \( \chi k \)-, but in the conjunctive:

\textsl{iiksópoxsisā let it blow harder nbt. 176, 25.}

f) some particular cases:

\textsl{kānkik kitsim áxkstaiapiaua there is the door, does he not see? obt. 23, 20.}

\textsl{áxkakitsaikaainitsuiaie he will never be able to kill it obt. 30, 10.}

\textsl{kāxkstáyinomōki there is nobody to prevent me from killing you (lit.: that you may not die for me) obt. 39, 34.}

II. a \( \chi k \)- c. indicativo with -pi.

To the relative idea expressed by -pi a \( \chi k \)- adds a modal one.

a) final and consecutive; also with only -pi:

\textsl{āxkstaisāmoi \( \chi \)kitāpistutsixpi let it not be a long time (before, that) we shall fix (these lodges) obt. 60, 9.}

\textsl{máxksoatōxpiau (he would not give them) something that they might eat obt. 35, 16.}

\textsl{máxksoatāxpī (they were nearly all dead) for something that they might eat obt. 12, 16.}

\textsl{kāxkakāxsixpixk (these are) that you can boil obt. 38, 26.}

Cf. the purely relative idea of -pi alone:

\textsl{itsinitaxpī (it is a long time) that she was killed obt. 26, 23.}

\textsl{nitsksínixpīsts (things) which I know nbt. 217, 29.}

b) in the equivalents of our dependent questions:

\textsl{kītākanik kāxkitāpōxpī she will tell you, where you can go obt. 51, 31.}

\textsl{nitáksksinisxpī kāxkanistspūmmoxpī I shall know the way I shall help you.}

\textsl{kāxkanistātipīxpī (he will tell you) how you can live obt. 52, 22.}
Cf. without a χ k - : otsítóχkotáχpi (she heard there some one singing) where (while) she cut wood obt. 12, 19.
otsítapiaxp (they would get to the place) where he used to sit obt. 35, 23.

III. a χ k - c. conjunctivo.
da) final; also without a χ k - :
axkstatáminakxtaxs (why did our father say) that we should not roll it eastward? obt. 27, 12.
maxkstátsaks that they must not go out obt. 10, 29.
(may be also a false conjunctive, for the verbal root is saks-).
(o)maxkosoys (they put by him) that he might eat obt. 44, 11.
naχkolakɔaxsa (they told me) that I must give them a drink obt. 15, 11.
naχkotomoaipiksistsax (she told me) that I should gather up (these pieces) obt. 42, 26.
máχksinisai (they wanted to stop it) that it might die obt. 27, 15.
máχksinosaxsaie (he is thinking) that he may know it obt. 38, 15.
Without a χ k - :
otsúmmaaxs (he tried hard) that he rubs obt. 54, 24.
anistsís ixtsískaaxs (tell him that he must make a sweat-lodge obt. 56, 6.
anis investigative; akékoánsisai, mákxitsaisaie say to them, that they kill him; if it is a girl, that they wrap her up obt. 38, 1.
b) in cases, corresponding with our dependent clauses with „that”, e. g., noun clauses, imperatives in the oratio indirecta, etc.:
máχksinisitaxsúaitks ki máχksitosaxsúaitks (they said) that they should kill and eat them obt. 10, 30.
káxkainoaɪxs (it is not good) that you see him obt. 6, 19.

káxkitömisi (it is all right) that you (fem.) get married.

áxksínitaɪxs (I don't think) that he is killed obt. 53, 20.

áxksuyisksànoinaɪs (he says) that he wants curly arrows to be made for him obt. 30, 14; cf. suyisksànoinoɪkit make a curly arrow for me.

máxkitsipiksistsís (she says) that she will show the people that I am a warrior nbt. 76, 1.

c) in sentences, which we would render by adjective clauses, with a potentialis:
ámom nínauyís káxkitsipísí that one is a man's-lodge, where you ought to go in obt. 41, 24; cf. kipitàuyís omím otsítsipixp the lodge he went into was an old-woman's-lodge obt. 41, 23.

káxkitapotàkísis (with some stick there) that you can look about for obt. 33, 30.

aχk-, aχky-, aχkyap- home.

Probably aχkyap- is compounded with - (t) a p-, see t a p-.

Once an independent adverbial form is noted:
omám aχkyápoxtém äkéuxm a woman over there at home nbt. 26, 10.

1°. as an independent verbal stem followed by a verbalizing suffix:
aχkúnąaxkaiop let us go home nbt. 102, 19.
aχkitaxkaiɔp let us go home obt. 44, 25.

kitákixkài you will go back (scil. home) nbt. 76, 24.
támáxkapiuaie then he took (his wife) home nbt. 150, 12.

áxkapiuaie he brought it home nbt. 186, 8.

N.B. In the last two forms we recognize the causative suffix -pi-. 
as a prefix. Properly speaking the form a\( \chi \)k- only once has been met with:
it\( \chi \)kénikatsimāu she ran home for help nbt. 145, 10.
it\( \chi \)kyápukskasiu she ran home nbt. 90, 2.
it\( \chi \)kyápasainikyāyaiu he ran home crying nbt. 126, 16.
it\( \chi \)kyápitsipatakayaiyaiu she ran home fast nbt. 109, 30.
itauá\( \chi \)kyapapōtsiu they (lit. he) would go home with the carcases nbt. 8, 10.
it\( \chi \)kyápautsimāiau then they went home to get their things nbt. 22, 34.
itauá\( \chi \)kyapāxpummau then (the people) would go home after buying nbt. 14, 15.
\( \chi \)kiaiapōtsinai he came home with the pieces of the carcase nbt. 124, 18.
nitsítax\( \chi \)yāpistotspinan we moved over to our ranch nbt. 238, 17.
it\( \chi \)kyápapotsiau they came back with the pieces of the carcases nbt. 113, 2.

\( \chi \)kun-; as to the form and the functions cf. a\( \chi \)k- (I e and e).
It stands always at the beginning of a word-complex, and the two initial sounds a\( \chi \) - often are subject to aphaeresis.
10. adhortative in the 1prs. plur. imperative (cf. a\( \chi \)k- Ie):
ómiixk á\( \chi \)kunaxtāpaauāau\( \chi \)kau let us travel that way obt. 53, 10.
á\( \chi \)kunāxpōkax\( \chi \)kaiop let us go home together obt. 6, 15.
á\( \chi \)kunāxkitapāuop nínna let us go to my father obt. 9, 20.
á\( \chi \)kunistapāuop let us go away nbt. 1, 26.
kunax\( \chi \)kaiop let us go home nbt. 9, 17.
kunitapáuop let us go (to) nbt. 8, 34.

2°. with potential meaning (cf. a'k - Ic):
aækúnuautói he might come obt. 37, 9.
aiáu aækúnuauaipokakiu annám nínauam ... mis-
káttsâksist oh, before that man wakes up (lit. he might
wake up) ... you had better go out obt. 45, 3.

axtso- instead.
sotâmäxtsoamitapaupínai then he just stayed around
instead (of Round-cut-scabby-robe) nbt. 90, 35.
äuaxtsauaikimmatâpsiu he became poor instead (of the
ancient Peigans) nbt. 166, 16.

amai-, omai-, umai-, imai- very, much; as to functions

cf. a käi-

1°. as an independent verbal stem, i.e. only followed
by a verbalizing suffix:
itóttsôtau; ikúmaítau it then began to rain; it (rained)
hard nbt. 231, 34. It is not quite impossible that here
we have to do with another stem for "to rain".

2°. in substantives:
amáitsoâskuists thick forests nbt. 60, 13.
stámítotòiau, tsiskáiie amáipitàkein then they came to
that, which was a very old woman obt. 62, 15.

3°. as a verbal prefix.

a) very, in a high degree:
amáistuyiu it is very cold nbt. 23, 23.
imakúmaistuyís even if it was very cold nbt. 12, 8.
stamátamaiiksaiïtsimau then she denied it hard nbt. 150, 6.
imakomaiskunatâpsiis even if it is a bad case (i.e. a
bad wound) nbt. 57, 9.
maiáii támiamaxsîn her robe then was very fine nbt.
137, 7.
nítúmaistuyis because I am very much ashamed nbt. 73, 42.

nětòmayaŋtùyeuaie (nít-omai-oŋtoyiuiaie. Uhlenbeck, Philol. Notes p. 21) he plainly (entirely, very well) heard her (say so) de J. de J. bt. 34, 24.

nětúmaisoaskàkanika he energetically did not consent to say ("yes") to me de J. de J. bt. 31, 21. Uhlenbeck, Philol. Notes p. 19 says about this form: "= nitómai-sauzskàkanika. The prefix n i t -, which is the compositional form of n i t ú k s k a one, emphasizes the strengthening value of - o m a i - (= a m a i - "in a high degree")." Cf. sub n i t -.

nítumiainyólùaiks he saw them plainly nbt. 189, 14.

mìskùmatikòtsijìu he smoked harder instead obt. 28, 11.

b) as a verbal prefix still; cf. a k a i - (3º):
imáîtskamiu he is still fighting (him) obt. 49, 4.
ki ánñoŋk anáukoŋt áŋkumitopxmapaitapiu ákai-Pekãni and now half of the ancient Peigans is still living about across obt. 5, 29.
imáinanaitsíaùaiks they still own those (things) nbt. 91, 15.
imáininckàŋtoyììùaije they still sing to (the moon) nbt. 92, 19.

e) as a characteristic prefix of the perfect, like k s i s t - and a k a i -. Only combined with the negative prefixes m a t - and s a u -, which combinations are best of all rendered by not yet:
nimátomaisksinìpa auáŋkáutsísìsts I do not know yet about wars nbt. 75, 26.
mátomapìxtsììùaiks they had not gone far yet nbt. 200, 8.
mátomaiszmòats it was not yet a long while obt. 46, 4.
sauumáipuausì before (all the people) got up obt. 3, n°. 10.
sauumaisopuyinakus *before* day-light obt. 13, 14 (lit. may-be: *when there is yet no wind and day-light*).
sauumaisopuyinakus *before* day-light obt. 39, 7.

**(amap-)** umap- *always*; a m a i - + a p - ; cf. a k a p -.
isáists otáumápípu ispúxsimatoxs *as they were always melting fat* obt. 1, 3.

amát- *to try.*
ámatoxtoxkònimat *try to find (a piece) from it* nbt. 138, 30.
(místaputamínasoxtsi) amátsepitótot *try to get (down on the other side of it) during the night* obt. 52, 12.
amátákuxskinsös, omáxtákâxkuinixpì *try to find out from her, what will cause her death* nbt. 104, 35.

**ami-** up, on high.
1°. up, on a horse:
anátsmiàupik *sit up again* nbt. 31, 14.
itauámiaupiì then *(the Peigan tribe) would sit up* nbt. 3, 6.
mátsitauámiaupiì then *(the party) sat on their horses* (lit. *up*) again nbt. 30, 31.
nitsítsitamiàxpaauaI *jumped on him (scil. on the horse)* nbt. 219, 23.

2°. up to the prairie, away from the river:
itapáuámiaùsistutsiu *(the Peigan tribe) turned back and moved up* nbt. 14, 28.
támamistutsiu then *(the Peigan tribe) moved up* nbt. 1, 16.
ákamistutsòp *we shall move up (away from the river)* nbt. 1, 15.
támamísamiu then *(the tribe) went up (to the prairie) to hunt* nbt. 12, 5.
itauámistutsiu then (the tribe) moved up (on the prairie) nbt. 14, 16.
matsítskamistutsopa we moved back (towards the prairie) nbt. 5, 29.
3°. in sight of (esp. of a camp); nearly always the combination o t - a m i - was noted. Cf. o t -.
páuaḵkùyi tótəmíaupiu he sat in sight on a hill nbt. 83, 6.
ákotamiátaiyàiu they would come in sight of the camp in a circle nbt. 32, 8.
itxmíaítaiyài he came up going in a circle nbt. 126, 5.
támotamìòpiu then (the people) sat in sight (of the enemy's camp) nbt. 79, 16.
N.B. otótomiomáxkàiau they came in sight of nbt. 79, 11.
N.B. N.B. atámipûxasput come up (to my camp) after a while nbt. 226, 30. Perhaps we have to see in this form haplology for: a t a m - + a m i -.
4°. up in general.
itsitápamisóyinai she went up to them nbt. 110, 18.
ipisóaxs áutamiskapiu the morning-star was coming up nbt. 27, 9.
mískstxamamíapiksatsluaie he jumped at him in spite (of his shooting) nbt. 17, 14.

amiskap- south. As to the derivation it is not clear, whether it contains the prefix a m i - and the verbal stem s k a p - to pull; or perhaps the prefixes a m i -, s k - and (t)a p -. Cf. ómaxtapâutamiskapi where (the sun) rises obt. 51, 2.
ipisóaxs áutamiskapiu the morning-star was coming up nbt. 27, 9.
It is taken down among the prefixes on account of
its meaning, entirely fitting in this list, though it has been only noted as independent verb and adverb:
amiskápoxtsk (they went) south obt. 48, 5.
nitákɔmskápo I shall go south obt. 48, 3.
amiskápoxtsi in the south nbt. 167, 17.

amit- up the river (especially used of the rivers east of the Rocky Mountains). Perhaps combination of a mi- + i t - up ... there (there means: that generally known place, the river). In the examples -i t - has nowhere been found, which is an indication the more, that we have to see in the t of a mi t - a form of -i t -. Often a mi t - has been conceived as, and so may be rendered by, westward, cf. pi n a p - down the river, eastward.
The independent adverbial form is also noted:
amítóxts higher up the river obt. 44, 2.
amítóxtsk higher up the river obt. 41, 19.
amétáxtsk (up the river) westward de J. de J. bt. 44, 23.
ákoɔtamitapaukēkaup we shall camp about along the river nbt. 6, 23.
ákametsistutskixtisip we shall move up nbt. 6, 21.
nisótxmáxtamítomazk I then went higher up (up the river or up the prairie?) nbt. 241, 10,

amotap- all over, all about.
Probably consisting of the elements: a m a i - + m o t(ui)- + a p - ; cf. m o t u i -, m o t a p -.
Three times the form o m o t a p - was noted.
áistamomotapipoxtoxpi that were all carried about nbt. 3, 38.
áistamomotapii itapotsopiks the horses that had meat on them would be taken all over (the camp) nbt. 3, 36.
áikakitomautapauåukiú they moved about just a little nbt. 5, 18.
átomotapå[pockingåplinai while he was jumping about, the arrow was going in the same direction nbt. 182, 22.
akatomotapaiaksistapiksiu he began to be ready to jump about nbt. 182, 21.
ninóå[komotapaiåkstsi I kept trying to steer the ears of the lodge about nbt. 138, 15.

an- now; cf. the demonstrative an no this one right here and the relative pronoun an no x k, nearly always used as temporal adverb now (Uhlenbeck, Some General Aspects of Blackfoot Morphology, p. 22—23). Only noted as first prefix at the beginning of imperative forms; variants to be found are x n-, an(n)i-, x n (n) i -, n :-
xnsákapuxs let him come out obt. 53, 5.
ánnisaksist come out nbt. 104, 17.
ánikakitaupit just sit there obt. 39, 17.
anikípuxksiakoki quickly make a trap for me obt. 31, 14.
annáitsinomòkit make me moccasins nbt. 22, 1.
annopakit now move nbt. 165, 17.
ánskót go back nbt. 180, 22.
ánsámik go and hunt nbt. 23, 23.
ánatsámik go again and hunt nbt. 107, 24.
anátxmiàupik get on your horses again nbt. 31, 14.
anisóminit now take off your clothes nbt. 47, 16.
anínisaú(o)k now get off! obt. 10, 24.
annoxioustakitáu now take from them nbt. 77, 30.
annapainimåt now begin to catch your horses nbt. 3, 5.
nápanisáu(o)t begin to get off about nbt. 31, 2.
Sometimes an no x k - is found as a prefix:
annóxkanit you must say now nbt. 111, 24.
anóxkokit give me her now nbt. 147, 28.
anóxkoxpotomitsit now you must take the lead nbt. 171, 14.
anóxkotáxkósit go and get the carcase.
Perhaps also the form anáauk-in:
náukitzxkánaisaksiau now they all came out (of their holes) nbt. 117, 15.

anáauk- half; one (of a pair).
Independent adverbial forms:
anáukoxtsi tzmomyanistáinimiáu they cut one side in
different pieces nbt. 31, 13.
anáukoxtsi otkisí half of the hide nbt. 25, 10.
kxnauánaukoxtsi the half of it nbt. 80, 26.
As a prefix:
1°. in substantives:
omí otánnaukotokémi ännimaie itotátsipòtsim she put
(them) down on her half of a hide nbt. 11, 4.
2°. in verbs:
noxtokisi tákauanaukùpistokiáxs I will keep down one
of my ears nbt. 141, 22.
áiaxkanaukùpistokiáxsiáu they all kept one ear down
nbt. 141, 24.
tákauanaukitómikáxs I will throw one of my legs out in
front nbt. 141, 25.
áiaxksenaukitomikáxsiáu they all throw one of their legs
out in front nbt. 141, 26.
ánaukapiniú he was one-eyed nbt. 198, 13.

anau-, ani-.
Only noted in some names of months:
aniotsítaisisksemokuáxpi when the grass grows = April.
anauotsítaisaisuyòpokskoxpi when the leaves come out = May.
anáuotsistsinistsotsitaiitspi when the strawberries get ripe = June.
anáuitapoxkiakiopi when we are cutting hay = September.
anáuotsitauapipitsxkoxpi when the leaves dry up = October.

anist- cf. manist-.

anit(s)- separately, all separately.
1^o. as a verbal stem, i.e. only followed by a verbalizing suffix:
ákanètoyiau they were about to separate nbt. 173, 21.
itánetòiau they separated nbt. 232, 8.
Several times in a formula used by raconteurs to finish their stories:
ki ánetoyi imitáiiks and the dogs have separated (after having had their meal) nbt. 186, 32.
kënnyaie ánetoyi imitáiiks and now the dogs have separated nbt. 41, 16.
2^o. as a prefix = all separately with only a slight stress on „separately“:
itánitxkáíiu then all of them went home nbt. 73, 35.
áukanaunitotuipstosiu all of them went to enter their holes nbt. 122, 19.
3^o. as a prefix to pieces:
anítsiniòtsika tear them up nbt. 49, 15.
mátsakanitsiniotsima he would not tear them nbt. 49, 16.
otsitānnitsiniautomòk he tore his clothes to pieces nbt. 43, 3.
áiakanitsiniotakii (read: áiakanitsini...) they would tear them to pieces nbt. 48, 20.
Prof. Uhlenbeck himself supposes that he has misheard ai for i, but contamination in the Indian mind of kanai- with anit- is possible as well.

N. B. anáukoxtsi témomyanistāinimíau they cut one side in different pieces nbt. 31, 13. One is led to think that here too anit- would fit much better than anist-.

40. separately; in different directions:
itínetomáxkàiau and they ran away separately nbt. 173, 16.
itauánitsistutsiu then (the people) separated (by bands) nbt. 5, 23.
okóauaists itauánitsitapáxkáiiau they separated going home to their lodges nbt. 32, 18.
itínsaumáxkáiiaiks then they ran out separately nbt. 192, 23.
sotzmanítsipíksiu then it (the buffalo-herd) ran all in different directions nbt. 142, 17.
50. always.
anitsípótapáxkistau he would always lay one of them pointing to (the moon) nbt. 77, 25.

ap- about, round.

Once at the end of a substantive:
máksiniapi the carcases about nbt. 4, 4.
The combination itap- which occurs rather frequently seems to mean to begin, and so it is to be analysed as it- + tap(o), cf. tap-. Indeed there are many cases in which it is difficult to decide, whether we have to do with ap- or tap-.

10. about:
áístxmitsinapapaukunàiiu there (the people) would be camped about nbt. 7, 26.
kitápasɔmmok he is looking about for you nbt. 76, 26.
támoxtsapapauauaxkàiinaí walking about, he then followed (the road) nbt. 143, 4.
ápasãtsimiau they began to look about nbt. 30, 5.
ákoxtamitapaukekàkaup we shall camp about along the river nbt. 6, 23.
áxsa kímáxtapauauaxkàkaup what are you travelling about for? nbt. 75, 23.
ápaistaukàtskàt go about to get lodge-pins! nbt. 1, 15.
itápaïsaistoïiàu they went crying about the camp nbt. 1, 14.
támatauïsauisto then again he cried about the camp nbt. 2, 23.
sótzmapsɔmmokaie then he looked about for him nbt. 73, 36.
támoxttapauauaxkàu he then walked about nbt. 79, 8.
29° In many cases a p- apparently has lost its literal meaning referring to space and has become a colourless suffix to other prefixes, cf. akap-, akçyap-(t a p -?), ksisap-, ksislap-, manistap-, nitap-, pinap-, satap-, etc. E.g.: mánataçkâpinausiù those that had a new way of dressing nbt. 73, 14.
eînî òmãxtapauatsatsîxp where the buffalo would come the nearest nbt. 7, 27.
N.B. ómaie apáipuyuiàie over there is (a man) standing up nbt. 79, 24.
apáïksimatsìmmotseiauàie they were happy to meet one another nbt. 77, 2.
itápaçpatskòtsiu (the people) made a rush (crowding one another) nbt. 81, 14.
apam- across (the river, the water).
After other elements we find in compounds also: 
- o p a m - , - u p a m - .

1⁰. as an independent verb, that is to say only immediately followed by verbalizing suffixes:
áupzmø he crossed obt. 5, 11.
áupzmò she crossed nbt. 129, 29.
nozkopzmìpiokinà take us across nbt. 129, 8.
amôm psóauzmìpiok why does not this one take me across? nbt. 129, 31.

2⁰. as a prefix:
áxkumìtopzmàmapaitapiu is still living about across obt. 5, 29.
autzmàkopzmìstàiìiuà he was nearly diving across nbt. 88, 16.
aísopzmòmototàiau they went on ahead across the river to build a fire nbt. 23, 7.

3⁰. The adverb a p z m o z t ( s i) is rather frequent. N.B. tàpopomàñtsì towards the other side of the river nbt. 88, 14.

apxt- behind; back.

1⁰. as an independent verb, i.e. only followed by verbalizing suffixes:
nínitapàtau I was the last one nbt. 232, 22.

2⁰. in substantives:
otapxtòxkatìstìs his hindlegs.

3⁰. as a prefix of verbal forms:
nisòtzmitapatauì I sat behind it nbt. 229, 26.
itapxtskàpinài then he pulled back nbt. 168, 23.
minapxtsapìt do not look back nbt. 207, 12.

Combined with - u z s - ( - â z s - , - o z s - ) back (cf. sub u z s - ) a p x t - occurs several times with the meaning ( to the) north, e.g.:
ápþtox;saisxpþu he was looking north nbt. 66, 19.
ómaxkauk ápþtoxsþ they went north over that way nbt. 167, 33.
The adverbial form of this combination is ápþtoxsoxtsi
(it is over north nbt. 187, 3), not to be confounded
with the adverbial form of a)pþt-scil. ápþtoxtsik
(long ago obt. 1, n°. 2) which is often verbalized:
pàxtsikápatoxtsikàukin he was just a little behind her
obt. 19, 18.
apþtoxtsikàukinai he was coming behind obt. 43, 9.
pàxtsikápatáxtsikàukinai (his partner) was right behind
him nbt. 82, 1.

apokap- reversed.
Cf. makap- bad, ikokap- very bad.
apókapitapiu he is a person with whom everything is
reversed nbt. 49, 24.
ixtapókapinixkatau he was called the reverse of it nbt.
67, 14.
itápókapinixkkakoie (people) reversed their name (lit.
called them reversed) obt. 1, n°. 2.
ístoxkanáuapokapitapiu he is the person with whom
everything is most reversed nbt. 49, 25.

asi- just.
Usually noted with an imperative and often combined
with -kip- just, for a moment (cf. sub kip-).
kášikipsketso I just scare you for a while obt. 40, 15.
sísikit (from: asi-sikit) just break it nbt. 2, 3.
N.B. asópâtsis chair (lit. a thing to sit upon for a moment).
Perhaps asi- may be connected with as- little, young,
which has only been noticed in substantive forms
(see: C. C. Uhlenbeck, Het identificeerend karakter der possessieve flexie in talen van Noord-Amerika, p. 18) *).

aso- covering (?)
soksisitsíkui cloud; cf. ksisitsíkúi day.
sokusimi shirt.
asókaiis trunk, cf. káíis dried meat.

askak(s)- consent, will, can.
1°. as an independent verb:
nitáskak I consent.
2°. as a verbal prefix, most times, but not always, with a negation:
dóskákaniu he consents.
mátxskákspipuaatns she would not get up nbt. 103, 29.
mátxskáksapíksiáua (the buffaloes) would not run in obt. 13, 25.
mátxskáksauatom he refused to eat them obt. 6, 29.
mátx(á)skákspummoíluaniaksauaie they did not want to help him nbt. 213, 24.
mátxskaksóoda she did not consent to go in nbt. 151, 2.

askxis- always.
In the forms recorded it is always the first element of the compound, at least if we leave out of account the personal prefixes and the prefix ma t- not by which it is preceded.

\(\text{ānnax}kaie\ \text{āskxs}áipiskiu\ \text{those were the people (that) were always corralling}\ \text{nbt. 37, 19.}
\)
\(\text{āskxs}áiiksìnòksiu\ \text{he had always plenty of food to eat with delight}\ \text{nbt. 200, 15.}
\)
\(\text{āskxs}áikôanimiuaie\ \text{she is always playing with him}\ \text{nbt. 102, 23.}
\)
\(\text{āskxs}xstaiiiai\ \text{he was always thinking}\ \text{obt. 4, n°. 19.}
\)
\(\text{āskxs}paumôksâkiuae\ \text{always he had it under his arm}\ \text{obt. 11, 7.}
\)
\(\text{āskxs}auâsainiu\ \text{he always cried}\ \text{nbt. 74, 11.}
\)

**asok** - about, across one another.

I have only noted it in combination with a u-:
\(\text{âistx}maua\text{skòyiau}\ \text{they would go about}\ \text{nbt. 3, 15; nbt. 3, 39.}
\)
\(\text{itau}áskò\text{max}kaup\ \text{we began to run across one another}\ \text{nbt. 18, 16.}
\)

1\(^{0}\). **at(s)-**, cf. 2\(^{0}\). **mat(s)-** - again.

2\(^{0}\). **at(s)-** around, in a circle.

1\(^{0}\). as an independent verb, scil. only followed by a verbalizing suffix:
\(\text{áuautsiau}\ \text{they made a circle}\ \text{nbt. 16, 24.}
\)
2\(^{0}\). as a prefix:
\(\text{uskñi átsisto}x\text{kinatslúaie} \text{he had his younger brother round his neck}\ \text{nbt. 79, 29.}
\)
\(\text{támatsisto}x\text{kinatslúaie} \text{he then wore him round his neck}\ \text{nbt. 79, 4.}
\)
\(\text{itatsótopatòm (the people) sat all around it}\ \text{nbt. 119, 8.}
\)
\(\text{itótami}x\text{tâyaiiua (the war-party) came in a circle in sight of the camp}\ \text{nbt. 89, 22.}
\)
áktamiàtaiyiau they would come in sight of the camp in a circle nbt. 32, 8.

anmatap-, omatap-.
A compound of 2 verb-stems, scil. a u m a t ( o ) - and t a p ( o ) - with the respective meanings of to start and to go; cf. 3º. m a t - , and t a p - .
1º. as an independent verb, i. e. only followed by verbalizing suffixes:
áistzmomatapòiau they then went obt. 34, 20.
stzmsepiòmatapòiau then they started in the night obt. 39, 9.
ikiòmatapòinyinai they all were going on a raid nbt. 79, 7.
2º. as a verbal prefix to begin:
ítáumatapasàiniu he began to cry nbt. 75, 6.
áumatapiitsimàu (the people) began to skin nbt. 3, 8.
mátsitomatapìksisàu (the buffalo-herd) had started again to run obt. 15, 24.
ótáumatapsekotsisàuaists when they began to gather them up obt. 26, 15.
stzmatomatapìpskau then (the buffalo-herd) began to dance again obt. 21, 10.
itomátapìtazsiu and then (the Peigan tribe) began to have the scalp-dance nbt. 82, 24.
áumatapòtsim he started to swim nbt. 79, 30.
A peculiar form has o m a t a p - in:
nitzitomatapìloyì I began to eat nbt. 226, 8.
totamátapìnòkit begin holding me obt. 38, 30.
N.B. a u m a t a p - , o m a t a p - may not be mistaken for a m o t a p - ; see there.

aut-, cf. ot-, otami-, otsat-, otak-.
a(ut)xm- after a while. It is most times found in imperatives; in other forms it nearly always occurs in combination with futural a k (s) - (cf. a u t x m a k - ); but we find also:
itáutaministutsiu (the people) moved down after a while nbt. 14, 24.
1°. with the obvious meaning after a while:
atámipùxsaput come up (to my camp) after a while nbt. 226, 30 (possibly haplology for a t x m i - a m i - , cf. a m i - ).
atáminoksatòk after a while you must own them (inan.) obt. 44, 27.
atáminoksatot after a while be owner of them (inan.) obt. 41, 4.
2°. This meaning is weakened to then:
atámoxtakaiit then you must go from obt. 48, 31.
atámanistsisau say then (to your pets) obt. 19, 26.
atámikstsinixtsit noxtòkisi bite then the end of my ear! nbt. 128, 16.

autxm-ak-.
1°. on the very verge of, on the point of, about:
automákixtståtsikaiksistsiku it was about noon nbt. 231, 1.
nitautxmáksinisi I was about to fall off nbt. 232, 25.
áutxmatåksåxpi(u) (the rope) was just about to come off nbt. 228, 7.
2°. soon.
autxmakotò she will soon be here obt. 33, 14.
autxmakomåtapò he will soon go obt. 52, 26.
3°. nearly.
kítautxmsauatåksino I nearly don't see you any more obt. 29, 8. Cf. kitátamisauatsina (= kit-áutxmi-sau-ats-
ino; Uhlenbeck, Philol. Notes p. 29) I nearly do not see you any more now de J. de J. bt. 47, 10.
autzmáksiko\patsiuail he nearly felled it obt. 17, 15.
autzmáksėniua (the people) nearly died (for something to eat) nbt. 131, 16.
autzmáksàkutsiu (the pot) is nearly boiling over obt. 26, 30.
autzmákɑxkznàiniu (the people) were nearly all dead obt. 12, 15.
autzmáksàkopxmistàiiau he was nearly diving across nbt. 88, 16.
áutzmáksikoko it was nearly night obt. 57, 16.
áutzmāksiksistipxskâup we have nearly done dancing nbt. 192, 20.
áitamakitsuynipitsiàu they were nearly frozen in the water nbt. 23, 12.
annóxk autzmāksapanistsoyi nitòtokànimists now I have pretty near enough of my scalps nbt. 108, 13.
taútzmāksipuxósòipinan we are nearly smothered from smoke obt. 28, 3.
N.B. moksiks nitákozmožtsěni I can only die by awls (cf. nbt. 106, 14: I would die by awls) nbt. 106, 5.

ik(s)- very.

ik(s)-, which may be cognate with ak- much, occurs in different combinations, e.g.: ik'skai- (from: ik's-ikai-), iik(s)- ("Zerdehnung" as German philologists would say, ergo this form is not a "combination") and even: ik'skaiik(s)-.

iikakauoyi auauàxsaists there are very many foods nbt. 76, 19.
iikakauoiau mf'nists there are very many berries nbt. 5, 3.
iikátosatom he became a great medicine-man obt. 63, 9.
áiiksiksistuyiu it got very hot obt. 37, 11.
áiiksiszmò after a very long time obt. 15, 17.
10. **ikzm-** quick.

10. as an independent verb, i.e. only followed by a verbalizing suffix:

- ikzmisin *he was fast* nbt. 189, 2.
- ikzikxmo *he is very fast.*

ikamó *get up!* (talking to horses).

20. as a prefix:

- itsikamistutsiu *then (the people) moved fast* nbt. 7, 5.
- itzixkmoţkanaupaistotâiimoiâniiks *then they all began quickly to make robes* nbt. 13, 4.

30. as a prefix with a somewhat different, though undoubtedly, derived meaning, scil. *eventually, perhaps.*

a) c. subjunctivo:

- kamóţkitstsixki *there might be some one* nbt. 73, 5.

b) c. conjunctivo:

- ikzmáxšsitaksâie *if he is pleased* obt. 6, 9.
- kxmitatsâpsis *if she was foolish* nbt. 33, 23.
- ikzmítaiâsinias *if he does not hit it* nbt. 242, 27.
- ikxmitakiasî *if he hits (the ball)* nbt. 242, 10.
- ikxmípixtsii *if (the buffalo-herd) is far away* nbt. 68, 29.

c) with aţk -:

- áxksikxmsksinimaie *perhaps she will know it* obt. 51, 10.
- áxksikutxmsinii *some more may die yet* nbt. 114, 7.
- áxksikxmâipiau *just about ten* nbt. 236, 37; cf. áxkaitxstokâmi nitomíxkâniks *I catch about two fishes* nbt. 236, 27.

d) with aţk - (futurum conjunctivi, see Uhlenbeck, Conjunctief-achtige Modi p. 19):

- káxksikxmitotânik *he will perhaps go and tell you* obt. 6, 10.
- náxksikxmoţkoâimau *I shall perhaps have use of him* obt. 6, 13.

e. with the irrealis, see Uhlenbeck, Conjunctief-achtige Modi p. 27.
20. **ikxm** - straight, right.

Perhaps cognate with 10. **ikxm**, although it has secondary forms, which never occur with the meaning of 10. **ikxm**, scil. -okam- and mokam- (cf. itom-, otom-, matom-). The prefix mokam - always and ikam - nearly always take the first place in a word-complex; -okam - never except in:

okámipuyisaãmists the war-bonnets standing straight up nbt. 19, 23.

Examples:
mokàmanàukoxt right half (of the buffalo-herd) nbt. 139, 23.
stámukamòtpuspàpipiixk he just jumped straight up obt. 46, 17.
stókamotspuxplis if it goes straight up in the air nbt. 242, 28.
áukamipàpikàstaiauu they were put straight up nbt. 1, 25.
sotmokamòtaitapò then he went straight (to) obt. 11, 25.

**ikit**- over, across.

ponokà'mitaiks itákitatsimaiauu they (the dead) were laid across on horses nbt. 21, 4.

(i)kin- 10. soft, in substantives:

ikináuksisakuì soft meat nbt. 145, 1.

20. slowly, as a verbal prefix:

kinàutamisò he went slowly up nbt. 180, 1.
nisòtzmikinauxkaxpinan we then went slowly nbt. 231, 35.

30. easy, gently, as a verbal prefix:

ikináikaiinimiàu they opened it easy nbt. 204, 5.
otsítsikinanâ’xkimokâie she gently laid his head down nbt. 197, 9.
átsikikinautxmiô’xkiâkiu then he again very gently looked over the hill at him obt. 63, 19.

ikiu- all (together).
ikiómatapòyinai (the Peigan tribe) were all going on a raid nbt. 79, 7.
ikiuókunaiiú (the people) was all camping together nbt. 112, 1; 126, 11.
ikiómatapð (the Peigan tribe) all went obt. 57, 2.
N.B. itáukiotâ’xpummmâu (the people) all went on to buy nbt. 14, 1.

ikyai- finally.
ikyáainitsiuaie (the Peigan tribe) killed him after a hard fight nbt. 103, 3.
nitsíkyaiaiskotâ’xkaiixpinan we finally got back home nbt. 231, 36.
ikyáiaupitsisod he had a hard time to get out of the water nbt. 170, 34.
itsíkyaiaiksistauâ’xkoutsèiuau then they finally stopped fighting nbt. 213, 3.
ikyáâ’xkòninimiu he finally found (the enemy) nbt. 83, 18.
ikyáâ’xkonoyiuaie she finally found him nbt. 159, 7.

1°. ixk- becomes -óxk- in itoxk-; cf. mosxk-.
See as for this change: -ixp-, and -ixt-, also:
ápeko’xkûminimâu “Round-cut-scabby robe”, and ixk-
umnitsiuaie she had cut it around nbt. 73, 20; ixk-
otsiuaie she gave him those nbt. 82, 23 and któxkot
I give it to you. Cf. also Uhlenbeck, Flexion of substantives in Blackfoot p. 29.
It is best translated by: on, on top of; e.g.:
áitoxkitòpiuaie she sat on top of it nbt. 202, 31.
ixkitópisò (the party) went to war on horseback
nbt. 16, 13.
tsánistsinami kitákiuxkitopixp and what color (of horse)
will you ride on? obt. 1, 17.
ixksksínóyiua he knows about them nbt. 43, 22.

20. ixk- gone, ended.
10. as an independent verb, i.e. only followed by a
verbalizing suffix:
áketsinixkaiáiks they were nearly all gone nbt. 172, 7.
itsítsinixkauaie then it was all gone nbt. 178, 28.
mátketsinixkaua all of them will not be gone nbt.
208, 28.
20. as a prefix:
ánnyauk ixkixtsíu there was the end of the smoke nbt.
157, 12.
kënnimaie ixkakútsiu and now the boiling is ended
nbt. 92, 21 (one of the many formulas used by story-
tellers to conclude their narrative).
ixksinóyiua otákai it was the last he saw of his partner.

ixp-. Sometimes - o x p-, e.g.: mátoxpitomatapoxkoka-
kiniàpiks(iu) he began to buck with me again nbt. 233,
4; cf. - i x k-, - i x t- and m o x p-.
The general meaning of i x p- is: with, accompanied by.
ixpitsínapistàiiua he dived with him down the river
nbt. 89, 15.
ixpítxxkayiuiaie she went home with it nbt. 103, 13.
ixpxxkànauauxkaiíau they went home with them all
obt. 58, 13.
ixpítsùiotsimaie then he swam in the river with him nbt. 80, 17.

ixpisústuyimiau they were four years with it. kèn̓ni ot̓kài ḗnnixpitotsâxkyàpiksiuaie and there close to his partner he threw his head up out of the water with him nbt. 80, 24.

N.B. the very real meaning of i x p - in:
kixpitómataxapòyinai (＝ ki ixpitómataxapòyinai) and then (the wolf) started off (scil. with the magic trick) nbt. 170, 18.

ixt- cf. moχt-.

10. as an independent verb, i.e. only followed by a verbalizing suffix:
ixtò he went along nbt. 182, 1.

20. as a prefix with the meaning: from. In some cases it may be translated by along. Often it is used to emphasize another local prefix:
anná têmisokixtsxisò there was one that came forward nbt. 73, 16.

itáixtsxisàuyi then they came forward nbt. 73, 13.
ixtsxípaxsauaianiauaie then they flew along after (him) nbt. 190, 21.

âxkéi iytsxóyinai he was walking along on the water nbt. 74, 15.

ixtsitámisò he came up from nbt. 172, 1.

ixtsxístapitsítiu (this it is) it started from nbt. 101, 15.
ixtsxínapapauaúaxkaiixk he was walking about along down the river obt. 63, 12.

30. as a prefix for, for the sake of.
ixtoχkúmiu he makes noise for nbt. 175, 24.
ixtápaiokaiixk he therefore slept about, (that he might have a dream) nbt. 85, 7.
nistóyi ixtsóyiua *I cause him to eat* (lit. *he eats because of me*).

4°. as an instrumental prefix:
ixtsinauásiua *he became a chief by it* nbt. 122, 18.
ixtáupimiskàupiau *it was made into ropes* nbt. 6, 7.
ixtáísokinakii *they doctored with it* nbt. 53, 9.

**imak-** even.

1°. as an element of nominal forms:
imakškapseks *even hard-seed-berries* nbt. 7, 16.
imaksínakâxtsî *átsinaiiu even a small piece of fat* obt. 13, 4.
imaksínakstsimiks *even the young ones* obt. 2, n°. 7.

2°. as a verbal prefix:
imakétokuyitoâkùnimásau *notokâ‘ni if they find only one hair of my head* obt. 19, 27.
imaksínokapis *even when they had supplies* obt. 1, 4.
imakúmaistuyis *even if it was very cold* nbt. 12, 8.

**imat-** nearly.
imátâxkanainèpitsiu *(the people) nearly all froze* nbt. 76, 10.
áumatsipuàuyaiks *they nearly got up* nbt. 111, 8.
imátâxkanaisôpokokâpsiau *they were nearly all bad* obt. 3, n°. 11.
nitsímatotâukitsk *I nearly vomit from you* obt. 33, 18.
otsímatayísitokaie *he was nearly hit by him* obt. 40, 7.
nitsímatotâsinèts *I was nearly drowned* obt. 65, 4.

**in-** down, off.

Now and then the forms *ini-, aini-, an(i)* - are found.
10. in the combination in-is- to go down, to get off.
itskisinisò then she went back down nbt. 168, 25.
áikaksinisàu he only got off nbt. 33, 17.
páxtsikáxkokinisàu (the war-party) all got from their horses just for a moment nbt. 30, 30.
tźminisò then he went down nbt. 163, 6.
nápanisau(o)t begin to get off about nbt. 31, 2.
ki áinisiiixk and he got thrown off nbt. 241, 2.
stísikiks áinisii some of them fell off nbt. 209, 13.
anisäu(o)t come down nbt. 158, 23.
nojátsisinisioauaniu he also jumped off in front nbt. 17, 12.
itáenisauaniàiks they jumped off their horses nbt. 17, 11.
20. as an independent verb, i.e. only followed by a verbalizing suffix:
kxnàinipiòk bring them all down nbt. 169, 5.
stáminièpiuaie okóaiests then she took him down to their lodges nbt. 168, 33.
30. as a verbal prefix:
stáminoxpatsistuyiuaie he then shot her down nbt. 110, 30.
kénaie itsitánnoyiu from there (the people) shot down nbt. 40, 5.
inásinai she was stuck (in the snow) nbt. 135, 1.
otsítsisinisokotakaie it spat down on him nbt. 186, 18.
tsitsinápxsxpiu he looked down all round obt. 57, 13.
áxké inamátsuiepuyiu he stood down in the water nbt. 146, 7.
máxksinisistäts that they moved down nbt. 7, 25.
nisoóyi otsínixtanists four were the things he put in the pot nbt. 155, 13 (?)
itáutaministutsiu *(the people)* moved down nbt. 14, 24.
itsínnauskimiuáie she put his head down nbt. 125, 23.

**inui-, ino- long.**

1°. as predicative adjective; see: Uhlenbeck, Some General Aspects p. 19.
2°. as an element of nominal forms:
inúúiskínètsimàni long sacks nbt. 2, 20.
Inókimists Long-lakes nbt. 5, 25.
inoksíaists they were long sticks nbt. 34, 20.
Inóyísoxtsani Long-ass-John (nickname).
Inyókakinyâ’xtso Long-back-Joe (nickname).
3°. as a verbal prefix:
mátsinoapuyòatsiks (i.e. mátsinoapuyùatsiks) he did not say anything for a long time de J. de J. bt. 20, 7.

**in(i)-**
nitsínáxkáxkokaie he has already given it to me nbt. 187, 20.
inátsitomàtsoo then he went on another raid nbt. 83, 17.
nitsínóxkokaie he has already given it to me nbt. 188, 5.
ómzxkskimiks ínáxkòtxxpiau what has been given to big rocks nbt. 188, 12.
itsiniánistutoyùaiks he did the same thing to them nbt. 115, 4.

**inipit-** 1°. as an independent verb to be cold, freeze:
mínipitsiàu they could stand much cold (lit. they were strong being cold) nbt. 12, 17.
auótásaininipitiiu the (people) cried for cold nbt. 12, 20.
imátáxkanainèpitsiu *(the people)* nearly all froze.
2°. in composition with other verbs, and then it is sometimes almost a prefix:
itomatapenepitāxkumiua he then started to cry as if he were cold.

ip-. The form -ipi- also occurs (cf. ap-, tam-), fortuitously just in cases where the first i- has disappeared, because of which some compounds are more or less difficult to analyse, e.g.:
aitspyōmaxkās when he ran into the camp nbt. 19, 2.
ftsipiuxtōm āpskotok he put a white stone among them nbt. 162, 28.
einī itāmsokitspiāupiiau they suddenly sat among the buffaloes obt. 14, 20.
1°. as an independent verb, i.e. only followed by verbalizing suffixes to enter.
pīk come in! nbt. 156, 32.
āupitsiplmaie she entered with it nbt. 165, 26.
āupipimaie she entered with it nbt. 160, 9.
mātsitsipsisipimats she did not go in.
2°. as a verbal prefix in(to), to.
itsūnixttsīluaie he put him in (the pot).
ixtsūtsīspzpamāxkau she followed nbt. 110, 4.
aitspyōmaxkās when he ran into the camp nbt. 19, 2.
nokītspistutsīsau ẑkai-Pekāni when they moved to the ancient Peigans obt. 3, n°. 12.
3°. in combination with other prefixes:
a) very often with -ist-, e.g.: iplist-, ipst-, cf. ist-; nearly always with the meaning: in(to), within:
anāistspīomāxkāt run in again obt. 35, 25.
āipstomāxkāiī they then would start for a run nbt. 41, 12.
āipstsokapistutsīxp it was fixed up inside nbt. 53, 28.
áipstsiskapiau einí _they would lead out the buffalo_ nbt. 41, 13.
nitsítsipstauptékòma ñk _I was running around inside_ obt. 19, 1.
Here has to be mentioned the adverb _pistóχts_ (i p - i s t - o χ t s):
pistóχts ki sau̱₇xts _on the inside and the outside_ obt. 59, 9.
pistóχtsi _inside_ nbt. 167, 12.
b) i p - combined with - o t -:
ipotóχtsim _near the door_ nbt. 160, 9.
itsípotapíksistsiuaie _she threw him towards the door_ nbt. 108, 4.
ipotóχtsiks _those standing in the lower part of the circle_ nbt. 46, 4. Cf. akimóχtsiks _those at the upper end_ nbt. 45, 24.
? mísksíppotapòiau _they went in the opposite direction_ nbt. 213, 21.
c) i p - combined with - i x k; nearly always adverb:
píxkoχts _in front of (the first lodge)_ obt. 59, 18.
áskxksaitapuyiuxí _píxkáχtsim nápioyis he is always standing alone before the house._
píxkoχtsim támítsoχkoχpínaí _it fell down near the door, just in front of it_ nbt. 156, 26.
itsípíxkaipuyiuxí _nápioyis = itsa₇xkágipuyiuxí nápioyis he is standing before the house._ Cf. ìtsōxk₇₉.

**Ipistsik** - _a little, scarcely; cf. aipistsik_ - (with the durative prefix a i -).
áipstsikâinoau _it is scarcely seen_ nbt. 111, 36.
áipstsikaisxmspikaii _the people_ would rub them a little (scil. _their knives_) nbt. 1, 26.
áksipstsikapauàkiuaie she would hit it (the tree) lightly nbt. 10, 5.
nísótzmípistsikitàupi I stayed there a while nbt. 230, 37.
oásp áipistsikasapínai he looked a little out of one of his eyes nbt. 181, 15.
The combination with -s àm- is too frequent to need many examples:
aipstsíksisxmos after a short while nbt. 29, 16.

ip(u)- standing, up; see: n i p u -.

is- `ahead, in front.
1\(^0\) as an independent verb, i.e. only followed by verbalizing suffixes:
Itsísòiau they went ahead obt. 58, 19.
itáixtsísànyi then they came forward inside (of the circle)
nbt. 73, 13.
itsísó he went ahead obt. 53, 25.
Itsíniso he went down to nbt. 79, 18.
itápauasainisòiau they began to go about crying nbt. 15, 16.
2\(^0\) as an element of nominal forms:
Otsísokάtsists his front-legs.
3\(^0\) as a verbal prefix:
Itsísanistsiu he said ahead obt. 37, 2.
áisapèsapíi they went ahead to look about nbt. 16, 16.
Itsísomáxkàiau they went ahead nbt. 79, 10.
Otsísísxsxunakàk he was shot at from a distance by him obt. 40, 6.
Isásit look ahead nbt. 75, 11.
Otsítaiisipuyìmokaie then she would stand in front of him nbt. 198, 8.
N.B. the adverb isóxtsik in the future nbt. 51, 24; 44, 8; 215, 12.
4°. is- combined with -so- (su i-) near the shore: ómim áxkunitapisoāuop let us go over there near the shore nbt. 103, 19.
Also as an independent adverb, e.g.: isoóxtsi near the edge of the water nbt. 74, 8.
N.B. potáni isoóxtsim right near the fire nbt. 153, 1; cf. the two meanings of su i -.

10. ist- in(to).
matáistokitoāuits he would not be shot through the body nbt. 57, 22.
autómitsistaniāipiksism otsísts (the people) first stuck their hands in (the snow) nbt. 12, 10.
itsístápiksiu he ran into (a hole) nbt. 189, 9.
áístxäkapīāiks they crawled in nbt. 195, 16.
itsístxäkapīixk he then went in there (in a hole) nbt. 195, 8. Cf. however st (a χ t) -.
amóm atsiuāskui aitāxkānaistsokēkân all of them were camping in the forest there nbt. 186, 2.
istsōnoxtotāua put them in (your beaver-rolls) nbt. 99, 2; cf. however it (s) -.
A special meaning of ist (s) - is in(to) the forest, the brushes; perhaps we had better speak of a second prefix ist (s) -. The examples are numerous (as well of the independent as of the prefixed form):
itsístso she went into the forest nbt. 103, 15.
àitsístso he entered (a forest) nbt. 195, 20.
otáistsiπiokaie he was taken into the forest by her nbt. 196, 27.
itsístsāpiksiau they fled into the brush nbt. 211, 13.
itsístsāupiui he is sitting in (this bunch of timber) nbt. 102, 28.
istsíppiksiu fled into the brushes nbt. 213, 23.

20. ist- two. The independent numeral is: n a t o k a. nistsámistsitapíau they were only two nbt. 79, 9. Cf. noxkátsistókxmi also two (horses) nbt. 30, 17. Properly we have to do with the compositional form of níst-; see there.

30. ist-. A prefix to denote the superlative; usually combined with -k anai- (-k anau-), which standing by itself has the same function. istómaxksim = kanáumaxksim is the biggest (oldest) of all. In general, prefixed to -k anai-: istóxkanáukapsiu he is the worst of all. spóxtsim istóxkanáitapiua all the people on high obt. 68, n0. 9. See: Uhlenbeck, Some General Aspects p. 19.

it(s)-, see: a i-, a u-; and: Uhlenbeck, Vormen van het Blackfoot p. 35; Some General Aspects p. 49. The meaning of it(s) - is: in a certain place, at a certain moment, under certain circumstances. So it often has a perfective character; e.g.: Nápi itáioskau, niétxťai itíokau Napi was sleeping, near a river he was sleeping *). autósaie ákitanistsiuaihe when she came back, he would say to her nbt. 2, 1. ki ítsuyiu and then it was cold nbt. 30, 22. See also: nbt. 21, 6—26.

*) Uhlenbeck, Festschrift Thomsen, p. 75, Leipzig 1912.
In the 2 prs. sg. and plur. of the imperative it(s) -
is changed into ist(s) -:
istsínóxtotâua put them in (your beaver-rolls) nbt. 99, 2; cf. however 10. ist(s) -.
annó stáupit stay right here! nbt. 79, 26.
ánistaupit sit there obt. 15, 5.
istsipít then enter nbt. 75, 18.
Also twice in the conjunctive:
istáupisi, saiitáupisi (you will know) if she is there or
if she is not there nbt. 139, 28.
stókamotsputxpiis if it goes straight up in the air nbt. 242, 28.
Remarkable is it- in verbal forms of the 1 prs.
plur. inclusive to define the place where:
itsipútsimaup the Battle-coulee nbt. 1, 6.
Cf. also: itsitátòaie then (the war-party) came near to
nbt. 17, 1.
ótaítoto xsi'a when he came to it nbt. 97, 13.
In combination with other prefixes it(s) - often has
only an emphatic force. Hence one can find it more
than once in one form: itsítoxkitopiuaie okakíni he
lighted down on her back nbt. 100, 8.
Combinations as itsit-, itsin-, itsoxk-, itoxk-,
itap-, itam-, itsip-, a.o. are frequent:
máxkitsitakaikamotâniaiks that many of them might
have escaped him nbt. 180, 29.
ítksitapó he then went back to nbt. 198, 15.
nikáitaiksitosxkitsok àksín I have slept on a bed.

itxam-, cf. tam-, s(o)tam-, autam-.

itoxk - = it- + ixk - on (top); cf. ixk -:
itoxkitaupiu he sat on it obt. 55, 23.
Itoxkítauaiaki Strikes-on-top (name of a woman).
Itoxkítoksinámåxka Takes-good-gun-on-top (name of a man).
Itoxkísipuiyiauiae they stood on it obt. 63, 6.

Itom- = i t - + o m - ; cf. a u m a t a p - , o m a t a p - .
1°. as an independent verb, i. e. only followed by verbalizing suffixes:
Itomo he went first obt. 5, 9.
Omá itamóa that leader nbt. 23, 22.
2°. as a prefix:
Itonaipiksiu he struck first nbt. 4, 23.
Itonauaiåki Strikes-first (name of a woman).
Itomipùyiu the first runner nbt. 242, 7.
Itonapauåuaxkau he was on the lead nbt. 200, 7.
Itonainitsiuiae he kills him first.
I t o m - always takes the first place in verbal forms,
in contrast with two cognate prefixes: - o t - o m - ,
and - a t - o m - (twice - o t a m - ):
Atoxmakutsisau when they once start to boil nbt. 25, 33.
Atoxmokoxpotaxsi when it snowed first in the fall nbt. 7, 24.
Matomautstuyiu in the beginning of the winter nbt. 7, 31.
Matomsotsikat you must slide first obt. 47, 9.
Aistxmatomipiksiu he takes the first strike nbt. 242, 5.
Moyísts mátoxmoxkúsksinim he also first found out
the lodges nbt. 81, 7.
Aistxmotomapauauaniu he would be ahead and fly
about nbt. 96, 15.
Automauåakoaiu they were chased first nbt. 1, 23.
Stámotomitùppuaxpaipiu he first jumped to obt. 43, 11.
Nitákotomapiksistau I shall throw it first obt. 47, 28.
The question is, how these forms -otom-, -atom- and a third matom- (cf. 3°. mat-) are related to each other. Are the first two only compositional forms of matom- or stands -otom- by itself as one of the numerous combinations of prefixes with the element -ot-? See sub ot-.

10. itsin- all.
áketsinixkaiaiks they were nearly all gone nbt. 172, 7.
ititsinixkauaie then (his earth) was all gone nbt. 178, 28.

20. itsin- among.
támitsinàpauûuauxkâu otápi’sisin he then travelled about among the wolves nbt. 117, 17.
nimátaitsinispaiksau I am not with them nbt. 175, 8.
tsá kanistápisinapauûuauxkâxpa api’siks how did you come to travel about among the wolves? nbt. 119, 24.
ótsitsinauûuauxkkâni xnník matáplin (they saw) a person walking with (the wolves) nbt. 119, 11.

itsistoxk-; serves to indicate that the subject of the verb is in a lying position; e.g.:
N.B. nitákitst Is shall lie nbt. 154, 22.

itsoxk-, itsáxk- before, by.
itsitsáxkipuyiau they stood in front of it nbt. 22, 30.
kemáuketsáxkapuixpuàuaiks = kimáukitsoxkaipuix-puauisks why are you standing before (the hole)? de J. de J. bt. 28, 15.
itsóxkoplu he sat by (a creek) obt. 20, 4.
itsk-. Perhaps = i t - s k - (cf. s k - back).
1°. as an independent verb, i.e. only followed by verbalizing suffixes:
nits'f'tsko I went on the prairie (scil. from the river back) nbt. 218, 6.
áipitskóíau they had got far on the prairie nbt. 187, 8.
áitskó he went on the prairie nbt. 196, 18.
támoxitskóíau í he just went past them nbt. 180, 13.
autsitskóíau he went past them nbt. 180, 12.
2°. as a verbal prefix:
  a) with the meaning on the prairie:
aíoxkítsikoxpitskitau we shall leave (our game) out on the prairie nbt. 109, 6.
ítuáamistutsiu; áítsksistutsiu then (the people) moved up on the prairie; (the people) had moved on the prairie nbt. 14, 16.
b) combined with ixt - (- o x t -) past:
támoxitskoxsokuyinaí her tracks went past them nbt. 147, 16.
ákoxtsitskixpiú he will dance by nbt. 141, 19.
ixtsitskoksksiuaks then he ran past them nbt. 189, 13.
sotámoxtsitskoksksiuaiè he then just ran past him nbt. 173, 17.
támåx'xnoxtaitskoksksinaí then they all ran past him nbt. 207, 30.
c) forming the comparative:
itsítskáxsiu it was better (lit. it was good past it) obt. 33, 3.
There is also a form utsitsk-.

kak- just, only; aí-(a u-) is often infixed:
kakatósi star (lit. just a sun?).
káksistomiu he was just naked (lit. he just had a body) nbt. 45, 6.
kákitsinim he just saw it obt. 61, 22.
kaáuyi kaksáixtsis that you are sticking out with your mouth only obt. 52, 16.
kakókasatóminai he just picked it up obt. 9, 1.
kákoɔpomòksakin he just pressed it under his arm obt. 9, 2.
kákitaixtsii were just there obt. 49, 20.
áikakauoyiu (the people) only ate nbt. 5, 17.
káukoɔtòkiaiks they had only their ears left nbt. 18, 1.
áikaukoɔtòskunàkiuaie he just shot with it nbt. 183, 12.

kaxm-, see i k x m - (1º. and 2º.).

kanai-, kan(au)- all.

1º. as an element of substantives:
kanáunistaɔs all the calves obt. 20, 5.
spòɔtsim istoxkanáitapiua all the people on high obt. 68, nº. 9.
With the help of k a n a i - each, all distributive numerals are formed from the animate and the inanimate genders; their value is one to each, two to each, etc. (Uhlenbeck, Some General Aspects p. 32).
2º. as a verbal prefix:
áukanaipimiau they all came in obt. 13, 1.
kanáisaìepitsiu all of them tell lies obt. 67, nº. 8.
kànistapiaùtomo he was far ahead of the others nbt. 81, 5.
aukanáiksistsipuyisi when all of them stood in a circle nbt. 73, 13.
Often k a n (ai) - is preceded by i x - (i x k -?) at
the beginning, by \(-o\chi\) (-o\(\chi\)k-?) in the interior of a compound:

kító\(\chi\)kan\(\chi\)kot \textit{I give you all} obt. 11, 3.

ot\(\chi\)k\(\chi\)nanik \textit{all of them said to him} obt. 30, 21.

ixtsít\(\chi\)kanauyiauaie \textit{all of them ate} obt. 8, 1.

ki ámoistíti \textit{it\(\chi\)k\(\chi\)naisíníkíu and on these raids he each time counted a coup} nbt. 90, 14.

it\(\chi\)k\(\chi\)naits\(\chi\)s\(\chi\)s\(\chi\)t\(\chi\)sau \textit{all of them were yelled at} nbt. 72, 9.

Frequently \textit{k\(\alpha\)n\(\alpha\)i\(-\)} is affixed to several words of the sentence for the sake of congruence:

kanáipim kanáiniua \textit{all of the buffalo went in} nbt. 164, 23.

kanáitapíua tám\(\chi\)k\(\chi\)naïs\(\chi\)síñím \textit{then all the people knew it}.

k\(\chi\)náu\(\chi\)sxo\(\chi\)t\(\chi\)si nit\(\chi\)k\(\chi\)naipuyiaua \textit{they were all standing behind} nbt. 72, 6.

About \textit{k\(\alpha\)n\(\alpha\)i\(\alpha\)i\(\alpha\)}- denoting a superlative, see 3°. is\(\alpha\)t\(-\).

1°. \textit{kat\(\alpha\)i\(-\)}.  

\(a\) \ a negative prefix:

katáimiks \textit{Not-laughers} (name of a clan) obt. 1, n°. 2.

kikátaukitskatáxpists \textit{those that you did not vomit up} obt. 8, 11.

omá katáukemíua \textit{the unmarried man}.

kátaisokásími \textit{No-coat} (name of a man).

kátaukyáio \textit{No-bear} (name of a man).

kxtáisépisto \textit{No-owl} (name of a woman).

kxtáíiata\(\chi\)xi (properly katáiíita\(\chi\)xi) \textit{No-really-good} (name of a man).

\(b\) \ an interrogative prefix:

kikátainokixpa \textit{did you see me?} obt. 59, 15.

kikátaitaiàpixpa \textit{don't you see something?} obt. 58, 26.
kikátaiikimmoka who does not pity you? obt. 68, n°. 11.
káttauaniuats is he used to tell? obt. 17, 10.

20. kat(ai)- that is why; e.g.:
kátaišâmiàuà that's why they wear the war-bonnet nbt. 91, 8.
katsauùniau that's why they don't eat nbt. 174, 9.
ki autoiátsís kátoxtautoanisòyi'a and that is why they
use the forked stick as a cane nbt. 91, 9.
kátaisâikimíi that's why they are short-furred nbt. 191, 15.
kátautsinaiau that's why they are fat nbt. 174, 1.

kixkixt- now and then, in different places.
áiixkixxtòpiu (the war-party) would sit down now and
then nbt. 27, 5.
sotémitsikixkixtaukunàìiù then (the people) camped in
different places nbt. 7, 30.
itsíkixkixtaukunàìiu amó Pekànìùuà, this Peigan-tribe
camped along in different places nbt. 32, 5.
akâxtsíkixkixtsiksíau (the buffalo) were running far nbt.
166, 15.
itáikixkixtsòkau then he would sleep at times nbt. 192, 18.

kip- 1°. for a moment:
kipínisau(o)t get off for a while obt. 5, 16.
ázkipitoxpòksotsíau(o)p let us slide together for a while
obt. 47, 2.
kipipúxsaput come here for a while obt. 47, 24.
túkskau ákipoxpokòtsisop only one time we shall smoke
together for a while nbt. 157, 3.
kipotònaukit look for a while on my head for lice nbt.
149, 22.
ákipsimiop we will have a drink for a moment nbt. 35, 21.
áxkunikipstsimotsëiop let us wrestle for a while obt. 47, 17.

23. within a moment, soon:
náxksikipinòazs that I may see him soon nbt. 202, 19.
kipánistsi in a hurry! (adverb belonging to the verb ánistsiu he does).
kipészàmit soon hunt! obt. 7, 16.
kipóxksistàuatomòkit quickly raise him for me obt. 25, 5.
anikípuxkksiakiòkì quickly make a trap for me obt. 31, 14.
30. falsely, by accident:
támikipanìu then he falsely said nbt. 145, 30.
aikípanistau she was told it just for fun nbt. 106, 10.
káxkipaxtokpuau I might shoot you by accident nbt. 111, 4.
kitákipan you are fooling nbt. 221, 16.
sá, kimátaikipanixpa no, I don't fool nbt. 221, 17.
N. B. kixpitsítakotòyinai he was just about to get to obt. 40, 9; perhaps we must analyse: ki i x p.....

kot- can.

10. as an independent verb, i.e. only followed by verbalizing suffixes:
nitoòkót I can.

20. as a prefix:
mátatoòkòtskitsipìmats (the buffalo) could not go back into obt. 11, 20.
kimátoòkotsinikixpuaua you can never kill me.
màtoòkotsåxpauaniùatsiks he could not get out of the water.

ksik-.

10. away, out:
áuksiksìso he had just gone out of sight nbt. 196, 6.
sótamiksikskàakaie *she then walked away from him* nbt. 168, 30.

otáistamiksikskàakaiks *they would just walk away from him* nbt. 169, 7.

itsáiiksikâxpaipiïnai *then she jumped out* nbt. 138, 18.

ákoxtaksiksaumàxkàiïnai *it would run out by (him)* nbt. 166, 14.

20. k sı k- sk - (with infused -ai- becomes kaiiksk-) *on one side*. On account of this form with the infix, it is evident that k sı k sk- is assimilated from kiksk-; cf. ksíst- and kaiist-.

kaiíkskàtsiuàie *he went on one side of them* nbt. 180, 11.

ksískkoxt kénnauk itáiiskixtsiu *there on one side he hid himself lying low* nbt. 145, 32.

Cf. otsípsksistoïxtsi *on one side (of them)* nbt. 79, 8.

**ksisap-** *down, to the river*; from: k sı s- + (t)ap-.

ákitsiksisapistutsop *we shall move down over on (Little Creek)* nbt. 2, 25.

itáiiksisapistutsiu *(the people) used to move down (to the river)* nbt. 37, 26.

Twice found as an independent verb:

áiksisapòiau *they went down alongside the river* nbt. 190, 1.

amóia einíua omoxtáiksisapòxp *where the buffalo would come down (to drink at the creek)* nbt. 140, 2.

**ksiskan-** *early:*

ksiskxnépuaus *when they got up early* obt. 3, n°. 10.

itapínako ksiskxnáutunîi *then it was early in the morning* nbt. 27, 12.

10. ksíst- *done, complete.*
10. as an independent verb, i.e. only followed by verbalizing suffixes:

itáiksistsiaiks *then they were completed* nbt. 9, 6.
otsóχsoaists áikåχkanaiksistsii *their food would all be ready* nbt. 107, 15.

20. as an element of nominal forms:
tátsiksistokuyi *midnight*; cf. kokúyi *night*.
N.B. tátsikaiksistsikúyi *noon*; cf. ksistsikúyi *day*.

30. as the usual prefix of the perfect tense, often combined with a k a i -; see there.
ákatsitaiksistòpiu *he was already sitting down again* nbt. 185, 5.
áitsiksistapauyiaie’a *he had done eating* nbt. 98, 30.
áksistaiksístotsisop *we shall quit smoking* nbt. 157, 19.

itáiksistslpoχksiaiks *they had done shedding their hair* nbt. 1, 11.
áiksistanistsiaua *they had done this* nbt. 97, 16.
sotámjiksistsipuyiáiks *then they stood in their places* nbt. 181, 2.
aukanáiksistsipuyísi *when all of them stood in a circle* nbt. 73, 13.
áiksistapaiksistoxsoiau *they had done warming themselves* nbt. 23, 15.
itáiksistauxkautseiau *then (the people) quit fighting* nbt. 21, 2.
támiksistsipxskau *then the people had done dancing* nbt. 73, 34.
áiksistapìmau *he had done making a lodge* nbt. 172, 14.
aiksistsnínikinau *she had done skimming* nbt. 11, 16;
cf. nbt. 11, 21: nitsíníninâni *my soup of the leg-bones*.

20. **ksist-**, **ksistap-** out of: **ksíst- + (t)a p-**; with infix fixed **-ai-**, **kaiist(a p)-**.
10. as an independent verb:
nitsítsiksistapo *then I lost my way* nbt. 218, 18.
29. as an element of nominal forms *wild, false, of no account*.
ksistómita *wild dog*.
ksístóxpu's *wild cat (pú'sa cat)*.
ksístápiapikoan *Dutchman (lit. false, or not real, white man)*.
mátsiksistapitapiuats *he is not a person of no account* obt. 30, 17.
39. as a verbal prefix:
a) *for nothing, without purpose*:
ponoká'mita kaiístuitapuyiu *the horse is standing without use*.
nimátatsiksistóxkokinànats *they did not give us any more for nothing* nbt. 225, 5.
Cf. the adverb: ksistóxtsi *for nothing*.
b) *false(ly)*:
máukaiksistápanistsíuaie *why does he tell him something false?* nbt. 133, 10.
kitáiksistápanauñiki *that you falsely said to me* nbt. 100, 18.
c) *to an unknown place*:
tákstzmiksistapanistapu *I shall go to an unknown place* nbt. 73, 41.
áksiksistápanistapauop *we shall go somewhere to an unknown place* obt. 34, 9.

**ksistak**- *over, across*:
itsiksístakákpaipíu *the horse jumped over him* nbt. 205, 16.
áistzmiksistakóxpaipiúnai *he would just jump over (the fire)* nbt. 176, 14.
ksistákápiksistsis pokúni niétaxtai *throw the ball across the river*. 
man-, manisk(s)- young, new(ly).
Frequent as an element of nominal forms:
mánisksistxmiki young buffalo-bulls nbt. 189, 11.
manótapòtsists the new pieces obt. 7, 29.
ománokoauaiima their new home.
manókini New-breast (name of a man of the Fat.melter clan).
manáke New-woman nbt. 234, 36.
ománnòmi her new husband nbt. 94, 13.
manáisto New-crow (name of a man).
manákitapiua the new-grown-up people.
But also in verbal forms:
mánatâxkapinausiks (those) that had a new way of dressing nbt. 73, 14.
mánokimiua he has a new lodge nbt. 42, 28.
omá túkskxm manáukin mánoto there was a young wolf (lit. a new-breast) (that) had just come nbt. 117, 19.

man(ist-), according to, in proportion to, how.
10. as an independent verb, i.e. only followed by verbalizing suffixes:
matsikióaists nitúyi anistzpii their moccasins were of the same nbt. 167, 7.

anistzpsin amóksisk mokákiapakèin she was such as these (that are) wise women nbt. 216, 27.

20. as a verbal prefix; together with the interrogative particles tsá(a), etc. it is often found in questions:
tsá tákanistsipixpa how shall I enter? nbt. 75, 16.
tsúa kanistápapauànixpa what are you talking about? obt. 18, 26.
tsá kanistápapaiàkstsimaxpa how did you steer the ears of the lodge about? nbt. 138, 14.
tsáxtau tákaništòxpaxtau how shall I be able to go there? nbt. 74, 16.
N.B. tsá áxkanistapsòp what shall we be? nbt. 111, 13.
3°. as a verbal prefix.
a) after demonstratives:
kánnyaie kanístoxkot that way I give it to you obt. 59, 12.
áníi ná'xkanistáxtsimatóau that way I heard about it nbt. 84, 12.
ki ánnyaie kanístoxkótoxpinan and then this is all we have to give you obt. 55, 10.
áníjaie anistápitapiau that kind of people they were all nbt. 49, 26.
N.B. ánñá'xkaie ánñižnistëpakeu nitoxpokáupimau, ánñaxkáiie nimoxtáksini such kind of woman I was living with, that I shall die through her obt. 61, 31.
b) after n i t (u y i)- the same:
nitúyi matánistàutsim in the same way he stuck arrows nbt. 154, 9.
nitúyi ákanistàxsii they were just as good nbt. 51, 18.
nitúyi ixnànánistaikimatóxkoyími they all suffered in the same way nbt. 21, 26.
maníståpomáxksipiau, nitópiiaux as they were big (i.e. according to their sizes) they sat nbt. 110, 13.
N.B. imaksínakstsimiks anistátsokínakii even the young ones doctored obt. 2, n°. 7.
c) to state a duration:
nanistsísxmitòpixpi (3 months) I stayed there.
4°. as a relative verbal prefix to form distributive
numerals, which, in the same way as the ordinal numbers, have the ending -\( \pi \) in the animate, and -\( \chi \pi \) in the inanimate gender (Uhlenbeck, Some General Aspects p. 32); also with nouns:

\[
\text{\( \hat{\text{\( \&\)nnist}\)xpin\( \hat{\text{\( \&\)m\)ánist\( \hat{\text{\( \&\)o\)k\)ò\)kai\)e every morning he would give him nbt. 78, 5.}
\text{\( \hat{\text{\( \&\)anists\)f\)koku\)i\)u\)s\)t\)s every night nbt. 107, 19.}
\text{\( \hat{\text{\( \&\)anists\)f\)ks\)s\)i\)s\)t\)s\)i\)k\)u\)i\)u\)s\)t\)s \( \hat{\text{\( \&\)á\)is\)m\)li\)x\)k he hunted every day obt. 23, 5.}
\]

5°. as a correlative prefix:

\[
\text{\( \hat{\text{\( \&\)manists\)n\)om\)m\)a\)t\)a\)p\)u\)xs t\( \hat{\text{\( \&\)m\)ánist\)s\)i\)p\)p\)i\)a\)t\)u\)m\)o when they had started down, he was far ahead of the others nbt. 81, 16.}
\text{\( \hat{\text{\( \&\)manist\)á\)p\)i\)k\)a\)u\)a\)x\)k\)ù\)s\)k\)o\)x\)p\)i, ixt\)á\)u\)a\)n\)ist\)á\)p\)a\)u\)á\)u\)á\)x\)k\)a\)i\)a\)u\) where the coulees were about, they went that way nbt. 16, 17.}
\text{\( \hat{\text{\( \&\)manist\)t\)ó\)t\)a\)s\)p\)i\)n\)a\)n, \( \hat{\text{\( \&\)Á\)n\)n\)i\) n\)anist\)á\)i\)t\)z\)s\)k\)i\)m\)á\)x\)p\)i\)n\)a\)n as we owned horses separately, so we drove them separately nbt. 223, 26.}
\]

6°. prefixed to verbal forms ending in -\( \pi \), to form relative clauses.

\[
\text{\( \hat{\text{\( \&\)manist\)á\)p\)a\)k\)á\)n\)a\)p\)á\)x\)p\)i where they were hidden from view nbt. 16, 14.}
\text{\( \hat{\text{\( \&\)an\)n\)óm Pek\)á\)n\)i\)u\)a má\)ts\)i\)t\)s\)í\)x\)p á\)x\)s\)s\)í manist\)á\)x\)s\)p Oko\)é\)s\)a\)u of these Peigans there was none as good as Belly-fat obt. 33, 2.}
\text{\( \hat{\text{\( \&\)k\)x\)t\)á\)n\)i\)s\)t\)á\)i\)x\)s\)p à\)k\)é there was no such fine-looking woman nbt. 168, 27.}
\text{\( \hat{\text{\( \&\)anist\á\)i\)n\)a\)s\)p\)i the way he dressed nbt. 85, 6.}
\text{\( \hat{\text{\( \&\)manist\á\)u\)u\)a\)x\)k\)a\)u\)t\)s\)l\)i\)x\)p how they fought in war nbt. 1, 4.}
\text{\( \hat{\text{\( \&\)manist\)s\)t\)o\)k\)í\)m\)i\)x\)p because the water was so cold nbt. 23, 12.}
\]
manistápisxmistuyixp as it was far in the winter nbt. 13, 9.

70. with the conjunctive:
manístsapsi when he looked nbt. 87, 11.

omá Mékyáksiua anístáxkiápiksatás amóm mistsísxm every time Red-scar butted that tree obt. 17, 13.

manistsínomâtapúxs when they had started down nbt. 81, 15.

80. to emphasize other prefixes, e.g. k a k -, m o x t -, n i t -, n i t - o x k -, o k - (cf. a k a i -), etc.:
okánistauamotsíixpi they still invite each other nbt. 54, 18.

okánistaixtsíxpi they are still there nbt. 54, 19.

okánistaiaxkitspiaie it was still smoking obt. 19, 15.

okánistaixtsíxp (his lodge) was still there nbt. 153, 26.

okánistaixtsíxpiaiks they were still there obt. 64, 14.

áitanistutsinaiau they were fat like (dog-ribs) nbt. 6, 27.

mátsikakanistapoxkyakanapiua akópists one never turned his head away from the soup nbt. 7, 15.

aiisofsts kákanistauaiitsístainim he just cut the meat down to the ends of the boss-ribs nbt. 25, 22.

nísomóxtanistápauuáuxk therefore I am travelling nbt. 76, 22.

Ponákiksi ánnyaie nitóxkanistoxtaikákimau it is Cutbank river, where they always cut lodge-poles from nbt. 7, 7.

10. mat(s)- is a negative prefix, which in certain cases is replaced by s a u - (s a i -) and ká t a i - (see: Uhlenbeck, Some General Aspects p. 38—41). It always stands in the first place, only the personal prefixes precede.

mátsíszmóa after a short while nbt. 73, 10.
matspiotoisiuaiks they did not go far for picking berrie nbtt. 6, 15.
mátoxkusksinoâuats he was not known nbtt. 74, 2.

20. mat(s)- again, another, too.

10. as an element of nominal and pronominal forms omá mátstsiki that is another one.
kókit matoxkós = matoxkókit kós give me another cup.

20. as a verbal prefix again, also:
mátsitoxkanitâutaipiu all the people also ran up to him nbtt. 81, 1.
matótsiminiâi he took it also nbtt. 80, 27.
mátaisapiâlin he too went stretching obt. 43, 9.
nitúyi mátanistiâu he did it the same obt. 16, 1.
mátâxkanâukpisiixkiâu they were also all bad obt. 3, n°. 11.
itâmsokâtsinoyiü he suddenly saw again (a person) obt. 47, 15.
átsisxmô again after a long while obt. 15, 27.
mátsipiskiop they had another buffalo-corralling obt. 18, 11.
ôtâtanikaie he was again told by him nbtt. 75, 7.
tâmatsôkau then he slept again nbtt. 74, 18.
átomatapâpaskunakatalaieâu they commenced again to be shot nbtt. 6, 26.
motúïinaiks matâxtsínixkâsimiau they got All-chiefs as another name obt. 2, n°. 7.
kikatóxkoxkemi you got another wife obt. 38, 19.
ákatóxkoxkeminiâi he has got another wife obt. 38, 16.
sotâxmatoxkuixtâslau then they had another game nbtt. 35, 1.
matsiskôt go back again obt. 56, 5.

N.B. The combination of this mat- with a negative prefix is best rendered by not any more or no more:
mátatsitapiuasiuatsinai he was not living any more nbtt. 79, 4.
máttatsikopumats; mátatokòtskitsipimats he was not afraid any more; (the buffalo) could not go back into (the lake) any more obt. 11, 24 and 20.

3°. In many cases we might neglect mat(s)- in the translation, its meaning being very much weakened: ànnistsiaie matoktàinauàsiu from those (coups) (too) he became a chief nbt. 83, 22.

áàkòkatsitsinoau that we can see them (too) nbt. 73, 11.
mánatàkàpinausiks (those) that had (also) a new way of dressing nbt. 73, 14.

nòkàtokskunàkatsiuaiie he (too) shot him with it nbt. 80, 14.
atáksamiiixk he was going to hunt again obt. 23, 6.
máttatapistutsiuaiiks they did not move about (any more) nbt. 5, 16.
mátatokkipitsxtàuats then there was nothing to think about (any more) nbt. 9, 7.

Especially in connection with sk- back:
nitáistzmatsksinisàxpinan we go right back down nbt. 240, 9.
matsksàpoxpiik fall back in the same place!
mátsitskòmàxkaiau they ran back again nbt. 79, 12.

In the same way:
ómátsitotoxsaie when he came back to her (cf. uxs-back).

3°. mat- = omat-; cf. aumatap-
1°. as an independent verb, i.e. only followed by verbalizing suffixes:
ôtsìàkomatoxp that they will start nbt. 77, 6.
2°. as a verbal prefix. The form mat- only occurs at the beginning of imperative forms.

itomátsámìiu then (the people) went on a hunt nbt. 3, 5.
mátekakomatoxpatskoyluats he could not fell it by kicking it nbt. 101, 1.
stámomatauaniu he then started to fly away.
mátánistsis go and tell! nbt. 100, 33.
mátāsistot take and wash it! nbt. 2, 1.
matótakos go and give him a drink obt. 33, 16.
matsāiakstsit go out and steer! obt. 19, 14.
matótos go and take him! nbt. 9, 22.
matóxkatatsístatos go and persuade him nbt. 9, 7.
N.B. matúíszmis go and see it (an.) obt. 37, 38.

mauk- why?
The forms of the 2 prs. end in -s, -ksks, -(x)ks; those of the first and third persons have no particular ending.
kímauxksiks why did you look out? nbt. 132, 10.
kímaukanisks why did you say (that)? obt. 42, 12.
kímauxsipisks why did you come in? obt. 45, 4.
kímauksáuoxtauisks why don't you eat from? obt. 7, 3.
kímauksotzmauănisks why do you say that? obt. 14, 11.
kímaukitspiaistzmiskðkixpuáiks ñksís why do you give me then to eat (meat) with round fat (fat of the guts) obt. 41, 29; obt. 44, 12.
kímaukauasäninks why do you weep? obt. 50, 15.
kímauksauxkaipzáskaksks why don't you go and dance? nbt. 73, 4.
kimaukātoķiskataisks natsēks why do you have my leggings for pillow?
kimaukstāmitokyāuapimaķks what is the reason you are making one shelter after another?
máukaniu why did he say? obt. 27, 12.
nímauksauanists why did not I do it thus?
N. B. kimáumaisxmitapinakuyiks why were you seen about during such a long time? obt. 36, 25.
kimáumaisoķkanisks why do you say (that) aloud?
obt. 41, 31.

mi- strong(ly).

1° as an element of nominal forms:
myápakès careful (lit. hard) women nbt. 7, 18.
míkoxponiks ótāsiks their long-winded (lit. hard-winded) horses nbt. 16, 11.
miikutapi brave men nbt. 16, 15.

2° as an independent verb:
ótāisau because they were hard nbt. 223, 33.

3° as a verbal prefix:
mínipitsiàu they could stand much cold (lit. they were strong being cold) nbt. 12, 17.
mískapiu he is strong.
míauánsakit cook them hard! nbt. 133, 30.
mátoxtaiopimiskàupiau they were also made into hard ropes nbt. 6, 9.

misk(s)-, mi(s)ksk-, mikskaxtsiu-, -ksk- instead, notwithstanding, opposite.

1° as an element of nominal forms:
míkskapayini biscuit (lit. instead of bread, na pa yín). 1° as a verbal prefix:
miskskitomató then (the war-party) went instead (of going in day-time) nbt. 27, 4.
miskáistzmopakiau they moved notwithstanding (the cold) nbt. 12, 20.
mikskúmaiikòtsisiu he smoked harder obt. 28, 11.
sotàmisketàkaupiaiau then instead of running off they sat down nbt. 214, 25.
misksíppotapòiau they went in the opposite direction nbt. 213, 21.
miskátsàksist you had better go out obt. 45, 6.
mískstzmamiàpiksatsiuiaie he jumped at him in spite (of his shooting) nbt. 17, 14.
misktítsinisokotàiixk nevertheless she spat at him obt. 16, 15.
miskífskunakatsìua he shot it (an.) in spite of (his partner who forbade him) nbt. 158, 17.
mískskxòtsúuamatò he went instead.
nitáksköxpùummato I shall buy it instead.

min- see: pin-.

(m)ist(ap)- away. The simple form (m)íst(s)- also occurs, so we have here a compound of míst-tap(o) -
1°. as an independent verb, i.e. only followed by verbalizing suffixes:
támistapòiau then they went away nbt. 79, 22.
açkúnistapàuop let us go away nbt. 113, 8.
2°. as a verbal prefix away, on one side; cf. paçk- (4b) :
áutsistapskàpiu it was afternoon nbt. 146, 19.
znistápapiksit throw it on one side.
itsístsipuxtuyiuiaie otoçkémánaii he ran away with that other’s wife obt. 1, 11.
itsístapukskàsiau they ran away nbt. 213, 16.
skaistapotoyiìnai he had already taken away nbt. 161, 8.
ixtsístapinok’ämítaiisko they are from those horses nbt. 209, 19.
stzámistapomàzekàiinai he then ran off obt. 20, 13.
áíístapuxpàpiksìnai then he was jumping away from him nbt. 80, 13.
3°. almost without a sharply distinguished meaning it serves to emphasize other prefixes; especially often it is combined with saksiu to go out:
stzámistapsaksìiu then she went out obt. 6, 20.
míst̪xpsaksìst go outside obt. 6, 18.
míst̪xpsaksìk go out obt. 43, 21.
nís̪ót̪xmoxt̪sístapamitoxpinan then we went higher up nbt. 229, 32.
míst̪xpukitòxts on the other side of a hill (or a mountain) nbt. 234, 7 (adverb).
míst̪xpamitox̪xts higher up nbt. 231, 12 (adverb).
míst̪aputaminaxosòxtsi on the other side of a hill (or a mountain) obt. 51, 29; obt. 52, 12 (adverb).
míst̪xpu̲p̲xmoxt̪si on the other side (of a water) nbt. 218, 17 (adverb).
There are some questionable forms, which I will place here:
kóniskuyì ákoξkanistapainokatóm (the war-party) would clear the snow nbt. 27, 10.
tám̪matáu̲t̪amaists; täm̪ist̪istamaists then he ate them; then he ate them up nbt. 178, 15.
itsíst̪apomàξk it would not go straight nbt. 227, 22.

mokam-., see: 2°. iξ xãm -.

mokak- wise, careful.
mokákit be careful nbt. 28, 1. 
itáiiikokakíu then (the people) was very careful nbt. 15, 11. 
mokákiàke the wise woman nbt. 101, 5. 
Enlisted for the sake of analogy though for the moment I have no examples of its use as a verbal prefix.

\[\text{moko}^k\text{-, cf. } i \times k\text{-,} \]

Rarely noted in this full form:

\[\text{nimo}^x\text{kszksínoau I know of (Belly-fat) obt. 34, 11.} \]

Cf. ixkszksínóyiu he knows about them nbt. 43, 22.

\[\text{moko}^p\text{-}. \text{Properly speaking } m\text{o}^p\text{- is a hypothetical} \]

form; only \(-o^p\text{-} \text{is taken down, so we can not} \]

decide whether we have to do with a compositional form of \(i^p\text{-} \text{or of } m\text{o}^p\text{-:} \]

támo\(x^p\text{saksíuaiks then } he \text{ went out with } them \text{(scil. those hoofs)} \text{nbt. 207, 2.} \]

tsánistapi kitáko\(x\text{pakito}^p\text{ixpa what is it } you \text{ will ride} \]

with? obt. 1, 4. 

N.B. áupipímaie she entered with it nbt. 160, 9 (perhaps a secondary form without \(x\)).

\[\text{mox}^t\text{-, máxt\text{-, } -oxt\text{-, } -xt\text{-; cf. } i \times t\text{-,} \]

10. with a local meaning along, from, of:

\[\text{ákoxtamitapaukèkaup we shall camp about along the} \]

river nbt. 6, 23. 

\[\text{sákiáxtauàuaxkau he was still walking along (that} \]

river) nbt. 170, 5. 

\[\text{ákaxtasxiuàie (the war-party) would look at him from} \]

(where they sat) nbt. 29, 20. 

\[\text{itámsokoxtásaininai something suddenly cried from (the} \]

water) obt. 37, 12.
akoxtsikàkimaup we shall cut our lodge-poles from (Cut-bank river) nbt. 7, 1.
stámoxtsoyiu then he ate of (the black alcali) obt. 6, 26.
mátoxtsoyiauaists they did not eat of them obt. 7, 29.
nitâxtáuyiauaists they ate of them alone obt. 7, 28.
mátoxtsitsisoyiu he gave them again to eat of (those last pieces) obt. 8, 3.
kímoxtotâm I invited you to take one of them nbt. 76, 8.
támoxtapauâuaxkau he then walked along nbt. 79, 8.
ánñóxk kímxáxtsinixp nokoai now that you have seen my lodge obt. 59, 7 (here the prefix has a temporal meaning).
áistmoxtotoxkánainotataiau they were all skinned from the back down nbt. 1, 28.
amók nimoxtóto over that way I came nbt. 81, 13.
sótzmoxtapauâuaxkau he went travelling along about nbt. 98, 26.
20. for, on account of:
ámoksáxks nitsímatoxtsinèts for these I was nearly drowned obt. 65, 4.
ánñístsiaie matoxtáinauàsiu from those (coups) too he became a chief nbt. 83, 22.
má'xtstuyisop we are ashamed of him obt. 9, 9.
nímoxtstuyis I am ashamed of (what that woman said) obt. 50, 16.
nímoxtsipi I entered on account of obt. 18, 20.
áxsa kímoxtápauâuaxkaxp what do you walk for? obt. 51, 4.
ánñixkaie nímoxtsisàms that's why I stayed a long time obt. 36, 29.
nímoxtápo I am going for (my scar) obt. 51, 6.
áxsa kimâxtáimixpuai why are you laughing? obt. 66, 1.
nimâxtâiimixpinan we are laughing at (him) obt. 66, 8.
nîmoxtaistunndanàni we are afraid of (wolverines) obt. 61, 34.
nîmoxtanistâpauâuâxk I am travelling for (my poverty) obt. 76, 22.
3°. denoting instrumentality:
ákoxtsipiap we shall live by means of (him) obt. 37, 15.
ânni ákakxtsinitsiuaiks he would just kill them with that obt. 56, 17.
nîmoxtáksini I shall die through (her) obt. 61, 32.
nâxtsipxpákixpa with (which) shall I brush? obt. 33, 28.
ákoxtaiiniu (the buffalo) will die by (flints) obt. 12, 1.
ákoxtaiiitau (the buffalo) will be skinned with (flints) obt. 12, 2.
kîmoxtsitsiksískaxkòki you then touched me with (your arrow) obt. 19, 2.

(m)ot(ui)-.
1°. as an element of nominal forms:
motaia'xke ocean (lit. all-over-water).
motóma'xsikimi everywhere-lakes; lakes-all-over.
2°. as a verbal prefix.
a) all, every:
motúiekkâmâk try hard, all of you nbt. 210, 3.
áumotapâistutsiminaï she did everything she could obt. 19, 12.
sotzmôtêpuyiu then all of them stood about nbt. 207, 5.
nîmótsipitâkeixpinan we are all old women obt. 41, 25.
b) very, in all respects, every bit; especially combined with -sap- to express the idea of imitation:
nistói nitotúisasinausiu she dressed like me nbt. 75, 25.
itáitotùisapinàusiau they dressed like (their lovers) nbt. 72, 2.
stotúisapinàusòkiau that they were imitated in dressing (by the women) nbt. 72, 8.
mažkáitotuisapinàus that they must dress like (their lovers) nbt. 72, 23.
tzmótouikzmìkùnamai au then they began to make roasts in a hurry nbt. 24, 15.
c) all over; cf. a m o t a p -:
môtapomazkâii they were running all over nbt. 226, 1.
môtuixtsii mäksiniks the carcases were scattered all over nbt. 3, 7.
imitáiiks mótuiatoi the dogs howled all over nbt. 132, 6.
aistzmötosikskiu he blacked his face all over nbt. 18, 11.

1º. nam- east(ward).

pináminakatòk do not roll it eastward obt. 27, 10.
äzhaustáminakàtaxs that we should not roll it eastward obt. 27, 12.
aiámistsipatakayayìn he was running east nbt. 66, 6.
Adverb: námists on the eastside.

2º. nam- only, just. See the numerals (Uhlenbeck, Some General Aspects p. 33).
namítsitapla u they were just lonely people obt. 23, 4.
nîtszámistsitapla u they were only two nbt. 79, 9.
namózkitäiisaiëpîtsit you can just tell lies obt. 67, nº. 8.
namózkitäiipuyit you just can talk obt. 67, nº. 8.
námîpaupiinai then she sat just up obt. 27, 1.
námâpikauaniâiks they just shook their legs nbt. 111, 5.

nano-, nanau-, nanai- finally:
nánayitautôyînai he got there finally obt. 23, 16.
áinoâžkonoyiu einí (the people) finally found the buffalo nbt. 15, 1.
nánauaiksistotsisiua he ended his smoking.
nánauauanikaie finally he was told by (him) nbt. 78, 8.
nánauaitapōaie he went finally obt. 47, 8.
nánauauâtsistotoyiuaiie he finally persuaded him obt. 26, 7.
nánnoaikôko finally it was night nbt. 30, 28.
ótâipzxksimisaie, náknoatoxtàinixkataliau because they
smelt bad, (from that) they were finally called (Skunks)
 obt. 3, 23.
nánnoainitsiu he finally killed her obt. 28, 12.

nap- see n i p u -.

1°. nats- last, farthest.
Also used as ordinal numeral, scil. nátsauxts the last.
As a prefix:
nátsâupiu tâmozxkotauaist they were given to the last
one (the man sitting on the end) nbt. 26, 5.
As an adverb: ki omí nátsauxts and over there on the
farthest end nbt. 181, 14.

2°. nat(s)- just:
ninátsau I am just wiping him nbt. 129, 18.
nátâxtanists (Uhlenbeck, Philol. Notes p. 14 interprets:
(ni)nátoxtanists(i)) therefore I am just doing it de J.
de J. bt. 22, 7.
kenátâxkanist (Uhlenbeck, Philol. Notes p. 14: ki-nát-
oxk-anist) I will just tell you de J. de J. bt. 22, 1.
kenátâxkänästo (Uhlenbeck, ibid. p. 32: ki-nát-oxk-
anisto) I will just tell you de J. de J. bt. 53, 21.
nim- west:
itsímsxpiu he looked west nbt. 66, 5.
As an independent adverb: nimists.

nipu- standing, up; see: i pu-, and nap-.
10. as an independent verb, i.e. only followed by verbalizing suffixes:
áipuau she got up nbt. 100, 29.
itsipúau he stood up nbt. 83, 7.
itáipuyiu he stands there.
nipuáut get up!
20. as a verbal prefix, sometimes modified by the old Algonquian "change" and by reduplication (see: Uh- lenbeck, Some General Aspects p. 59 sqq.):
itsipúšapiu then he looked up nbt. 74, 15.
aipókoyis when his lodge was finished (lit. was standing up) nbt. 42, 25.
nipúšsoyanait jump up! nbt. 156, 3.
nipúzpáipiit jump up! obt. 40, 9.
áitsipápuyiu he was standing up alone nbt. 169, 10.
áksipuyimikiá'zsataiau we shall push the grass up nbt. 127, 4.
ixtsitáipuimikiákiuá he pushed the grass up with (the lodge-pole) nbt. 127, 7.
itsipúisuiàuaniu he jumped up (from his bed) nbt. 199, 22.
nitapáipuxpáipiiau they jumped up at the same time nbt. 39, 21.
nápapuyiu he talks while standing.
nápopuyisimiu he drinks while standing.
nitsipáísínaki I write while standing.

nist- two; see: -ist-.
nit(s), nitap, nitui, nito. one; cf. the cardinal numeral nitúkska. It is not difficult to understand the rather differentiated functions of nit(s) - etc. out of this fundamental meaning.

1°. alone, only:
annóxk zskxsaitásitáupop now we are always living here alone nbt. 106, 2.
nitóxkémíu he had one wife obt. 13, 23.
ki áitsitapainauásiu and he became the only chief nbt. 84, 9.

nitainitsiu (the people) only killed (those) nbt. 40, 8.
nitáxtáuyiauaists they ate of them alone obt. 7, 28.
áistámitesitapaukunainíxk he camped about alone nbt. 123, 2.
nitsísoýisoau he is fed with only four things nbt. 2, 14.
nitsámitesitaplau they were only two nbt. 79, 9.
áitsauaipxskaíi they were the only ones that did not dance nbt. 73, 1.
kitaitsauaipxsk you are the only one that does not dance nbt. 73, 7.
imakétokuyitoxkónimásau if they find only one hair obt. 19, 27.

2°. Semantically most akin to the meaning one is that of the same, alike. The independent adverb nitúyi is met with:
nitúyi nitáxsií (their things) were fine the same nbt. 167, 14.
nitúyi nitáixtsau she is laid down in the same way nbt. 54, 3.

Often nit(s) -, etc. is combined with (m)anist- (which in many cases has a similar function) or with (m)ot-. See manist- and mot-
áitanistsinatsiaists they looked like nbt. 20, 5; cf. ánni
nitoápiksamâists this way they threw them nbt. 34, 12.
itsitósapinausínai she dressed like him nbt. 85, 6.
itáítotúsapisinausiau they dressed alike nbt. 72, 2.
nitúianistápsi they are the same nbt. 53, 21.
áitanistutsinaiau they were fat like (dog-ribs) nbt. 6, 27.
áitanistsiaiks ânni âipox pokúyi they would be like as
if their hair were brushed nbt. 8, 12.
nítanistsinatsiau ânni áskâkxkuyi they looked like a
short-back butte nbt. 24, 17.
The meaning at the same time belongs here:
nítóxpixistažkûmiuaie he shot at the same time with
him obt. 30, 30.
ki nitapáipuxpâipiau and they jumped up at the same
time nbt. 39, 21.
3°. Derived from the meaning sub 1°. only, alone is
that of real:
nitápskinetsimâni the real sacks nbt. 2, 20.
áitapsuiinisi when it was real warm weather nbt.
12, 22.
nínitsâpixpinan we really saw nbt. 28, 17.
nitápoauâpoxsiau (their horses) were really fat nbt.
1, 10.
nitápipitâkèsin the state of being a real old woman.
kanáitsitapíua all Indians (lit. all the real people) obt.
67, n°. 8.
4°. always, still:
kînetóxkanistožkot I still give you nbt. 28, 3.
kînetóxkanistaiâkâinoâu you will always see him obt.
67, n°. 8.
ânnyaie nitóxkanistoxtaikâkimau there it is they always
cut lodge-poles from nbt. 7, 7.
âistxmitapotsiminai he would always swim to (the beaver-
den) nbt. 75, 4.
For the combination nit-o'k-ani-st-cf. a k a i-
(2e).
5°. emphasizing; best rendered by self:
áitsitsò'yá'siu all of them yelled nbt. 79, 32.
áitaxpùiiimiau their bodies were oily nbt. 1, 24.
nitsitótòaie he walked right up to him nbt. 80, 13.
nistóa nitákotomitàpamiso I shall go up there first nbt. 168, 14.
nítaxtsakoàumaxkau he was the last one running obt. 16, 11.
nítsisxmauàksiksíau (the buffalo-herd) had made a long run around obt. 16, 19.
nínitapàtau I was the last one nbt. 232, 22.
no'ketsítotoiau they came at last there nbt. 173, 21.

nà'k-, no'k- to be sure, it is true, though.
1°. prefixed to imperative forms, to mitigate the command:
no'kátsimàt give an invitation! nbt. 2, 16.
nà'ksísokik give me to eat! obt. 38, 34.
no'ksikúmmokit pity me! obt. 68, n°. 10.
no'kkó'tokit hear me! obt. 68, n°. 10.
no'kspúmmokit help me! obt. 68, n°. 10.
nà'ksíkiakitaksòkit make me a trap! nbt. 161, 30.
2°. after interrogative particles:
tsà' kinà'kkanistasp which kind of being are you? obt. 7, 1.
tsimá kinà'kkitapaiitapiixp where are you roaming about? obt. 8, 18.
nà'kátoxtàpoyiskòa (which way) are there any more lodges? obt. 44, 1.
kinà'kakimmok (which of these your children) pities you? obt. 41, 7.
náyúkáiítapóaxtau (where) is she going to? obt. 62, 17.
noyúkáttoyisko (where) are there more lodges? obt. 46, 28.
noyúkkoxtápitapiskoa (which way) are there any people? obt. 41, 17.
3⁰. Combined with prefixes, mitigating their strict meaning:
a) with nit-only:
noyúkkitáutsinaiau (there) is the only place they have fat
nbt. 174, 8.
b) with (m)anist-:
níná'yúkanistáxtsimatóxpi the way I heard about them
nbt. 1, 6.
níná'yúkanistsksinoau what I know about them nbt. 169, 19.
níná'yúkanistsksinoiau (that is all) I know about them
nbt. 111, 39.
c) with (m)at-also, the same:
noyúkátáxkkanáisoo they came also all to the shore of the
river nbt. 79, 20.
náyúkátakapinausiu whoever has a new way of dressing
nbt. 73, 11.
áyúkkoxtatsitsinoau that we can see them nbt. 73, 11.
noyúkábtoxskunakatsiaue he shot him with it nbt. 80, 14.
noyúkátsistokámi he had also two.
náyúkátanistsinokétakiu he the same was very glad nbt.
144, 14.
d) after demonstratives; cf. sub b:
ánni ná'yúkanistáxtsimatótau that way I heard about it
nbt. 84, 12.
kénniaie ná'yúkokamàatsimaie that one was her lover
nbt. 73, 33.
ánniaie kinóbkopāu I give her to you in payment nbt.
82, 28.
e) with kanai- (see kana-i- ²⁰.).
40. in general as an expression of doubt and caution: kamóψ'kitstsixki there might be some one nbt. 73, 4. ánnoxka pëskàuki, nitákòψksipàsk now when we have a dance, I shall dance nbt. 73, 9. ninàψkainoki they can see me obt. 66, n0. 4. mátàψksipiðats he did not go far nbt. 185, 3. nenàψkszpapàuk it is true, I had a dream de J. de J. bt. 44, 1 (Uhlenbeck, Philol. Notes p. 27: „ninóψksi-papauk. The prefix n o χ (s) (i) - is often concessive and then it might be rendered in German by „freilich”).

kenátàψkanist I will just tell you de J. de J. bt. 22, 1. (Uhlenbeck, Philol. Notes p. 14: The value of -o χ k- (= n o χ k-) in this form is concessive, wherefore I rendered it by „will”).

noψkets(i)-, noψkits(i)- different.
1) in nominal forms:
noψkétsitapi the enemy nbt. 79, 20.
2) as a verbal prefix:
noψkétsipuyiàu they stood separately nbt. 181, 7.
noψketsítotoiàu they came there at last nbt. 173, 21.

omat-, see 30. m a t-.

omoi- together:
itomoóyi Mátokeks the Women-society gathered nbt. 19, 6 (independent verb).
kákskapauimoàikinau he just went back gathering them up nbt. 179, 28.
áumoiiskapâtsiu he pulled them together nbt. 111, 1.

omont-, see: m o χ t-. O m o χ t- is formed by means
of the personal prefix o- about which Uhlenbeck, (Some General Aspects p. 50) says: "The prefix o- (ot-, otoχ-, ots-, otsi-) is used to indicate the 4prs. in centripetal forms, but in the conjunctive it also often denotes the subject of the 3prs."

Examples:
omaxtā'xpauānis that (the buffalo) were jumping off obt. 13, 21.
ōmaxtākoxkuienixpi what he will die with obt. 17, 10.
ōmaxtauāuāxkakxp where they used to go obt. 25, 18.
ōmaxtaksisapsimixpi where (the buffalo) used to drink obt. 20, 3.
ōmaxtapisikimaxpi the direction she was in obt. 9, 14.
ōmaxtōxpi the way they went obt. 11, 18.
ōmaxtsipāskāni that she danced for nbt. 73, 31.
ōmaxtapāutamiskapi where he rises obt. 51, 2.
āxkēyi omoxtāutsisaie that he was swimming in the water nbt. 75, 2.
omaxtāuyospists the things they cooked with nbt. 1, 2.
omaxtapakièpi where there were many (buffalo) nbt. 15, 3.

opit-, apit-.

1°. as an independent verb, i.e. followed only by verbalizing suffixes or incorporated nouns = to loose:
āikaxkapitsuaie he cut (the horse) loose nbt. 30, 12.
otāpitotokskasuaks they peeled the bark from them nbt. 10, 17.
ākitaupitotoksksiuaie she would knock off the bark of it nbt. 10, 4.
manistsikaxkapitxkipiau how they cut loose the horses nbt. 32, 25.
as a modifying prefix, usually combined with other prefixes:
aupitsísíkapxtzxs when he was pulled ashore nbt. 192, 36.
a) combined with -so- ashore, from the fire; see sui-, so-:
ákitopitsosimàie then she would pull it from the fire nbt. 11, 11.
áupitsòtsimiau they pulled it ashore nbt. 23, 13.
itopítsotoyìuaiks he pulled them from the fire nbt. 175, 15.
b) with is-(s) o-:
sótɔxmapitsisò I then went ashore nbt. 219, 12.
sótɔxmapitsisoo then she went ashore nbt. 94, 11.
itopítsisò then he came out of the water nbt. 190, 29.
pinápɔxts náxtápopitsisòxsi’a that I will come out of the water below nbt. 88, 12.
östöyi ikyáiaupitsisò he himself had a hard time to get out of the water nbt. 197, 21.
ixtopítsasoo he came out of the water nbt. 210, 19.
c) with sai-, sat-:
kákopitsaipiksistsìuaie she just pulled it ashore nbt. 145, 21.
ákitopitsaipuyiuà he was standing out of the water (on the bank) nbt. 87, 12.
máxkopitsáxpauànisai he that she might jump out (of the snow) nbt. 135, 3.
itáupitsatapiksistsèiaiks then they threw each other out (of the ashes) nbt. 174, 26.
d) some forms cannot be analysed sufficiently:
itopítsiaáxkimiau they pulled (a charcoal) from the fire nbt. 29, 5.
noxksístapopitsikaniksisinaí she (the crow) started for the shore with her wings spread nbt. 151, 8.
opitsauâxksinòka he was seen (by the Snake Indians) (that he dived in) nbt. 88, 14.

ot-, aut-; certainly cognate with oto to come to, cf.: ki ômâxkauk autâkiakiu and over there he went to trap nbt. 161, 3.

10. combined with stuyi winter with the meaning to approach, to begin:
itótstuyiu then the winter came on nbt. 164, 25. áitapôtstuyis when they had real winter nbt. 10, 24. ákotsstuyiuia it was near winter nbt. 94, 4. átotstuyiu it was winter again nbt. 12, 5. matómautstuyiu in the beginning of the winter nbt 7, 31.
itstisitstsâutstuyiu in the beginning of the winter nbt. 8, 14.

20. near, to, close by:
itáutáupiuiaie (the war-party) sat near by them nbt. 17, 2. támitotoxsokuyinai her tracks went up to him nbt. 147, 16.
itstótauniau they flew to him nbt. 124, 19. támitotsókauaie then he slept near her nbt. 208, 16.
itstotátsimiuaiks she met them nbt. 104, 23. itótauaniu he flew to (where there were many elks) nbt. 100, 5.
támitotsipuyiuiaie he stood by (the buffalo-head) nbt. 116, 12.
itótsisâtüiaue then he went in front of her nbt. 168, 31. itótauanii they came flying home nbt. 190, 10.
tótokèkasaei when he was camped near nbt. 114, 16. támitotòpiuaie he then sat by him nbt. 136, 15.
kâxkitotsâpinakumis that you may be close by in the morning nbt. 205, 6.
nitautskoa%sau when I had driven them back to camp nbt. 230, 13.

30. o t - often occurs in regular combination with certain prefixes:

a) with a k -, scil. o t a k -, a u t a k - nearly always with the meaning in a circle, around:

áitotakixpisau when they are dancing in a circle nbt. 141, 18.

stzmautzakatominai then he went around it obt. 23, 17.

nisóoyi ototakoxsists four times he went around (lit. four were his goings-around) nbt. 152, 6.

itáutakaniau they went round saying nbt. 1, 18.

itsitautzkauaniuua he flew around nbt. 96, 26.

itotaksoyoauanin he jumped around obt. 64, 2.

itáutskomáxkau then he would run around nbt. 16, 3.

ixtautksaistoiuauaie they went through the camp crying nbt. 34, 3.

áutakatsiuaiks he began to go around them nbt. 117, 9.

tázmitotautakòyninai then he was going around nbt. 152, 5 (independent verb).

ómzxksikimists otzkóxtsi around the lakes nbt. 37, 22 (adverb).

Here belong also:

ititkxkaupiuauie he sat by him obt. 18, 15.

mátsitotakaupinai he sat down by him again nbt. 136, 24.

áitotakaupiu he sat by (his partner) obt. 59, 14.

b) with - a mi - ; the meaning will appear from the examples:

itotzmiàupiau they were sitting on the edge (of the cliff) nbt. 135, 8.

itáutamianiu he said from where he was on high nbt. 39, 10.
itáutamiataiàii *they came up in sight in a circle* nbt. 32, 11.

ipisóaxs áutamiskapiu *the morning-star was coming up* nbt. 27, 9.

ómáxtàpàutamiskapi *where (the sun) rises* obt. 51, 2.

páuaàkùyi tòtxmiàupiu *he sat in sight on a hill* nbt. 83, 6.

txmótxamiòpiu *then (the war-party) sat in sight (of the enemy's camp)* nbt. 79, 16.

otótamisooxsaìu *when they came in sight (of the place where the lodges had been)* nbt. 127, 26.

ákotamiatàiaiop *we shall have a circle in sight* nbt. 18, 13.

kináutamisò *he went slowly up (to a lake)* nbt. 180, 1.

c) with - sat - ; meaning to be near, to come near:

áìikotsatò *he is very close* obt. 40, 2.

itótxtstìu *he came* nbt. 191, 6.

áutsìtoxkìm moyìsts *the war-party) came near the camp* nbt. 18, 5.

ámom otsátìxtsim *here, close by* nbt. 156, 17 (adverb).

áutsatstsìsaìks *when they were close by* nbt. 17, 8.

eìní ómáxtàpàutsatsìx ìp *where the buffalo would come the nearest* nbt. 7, 27.

**pan-** during the night, before day-light; often with infixed -ai-, scil. p a i a n -:

paiázñnaupiksiu *he made his flight all night* nbt. 30, 26.

panáuamisòk *go before day-light on high* obt. 42, 1.

paiázñnauatòiau *they travelled all night* nbt. 213, 5.

paiázñnaupiksiàu *they were running all the night* nbt. 146, 15.

N.B. áipznìnxstsìi *they laid (the bullberries) over night (they kept them through winter)* nbt. 10, 23.
pa\textit{xt}(s)-, pa\textit{xk}-. As for the different meanings is to be compared 2\textsuperscript{0}. k\textit{si}st(a p)-.

1\textsuperscript{0}. as an element of nominal forms:

\textit{pxxtsopis}ds\textit{axs} False-morning-star obt. 54, 29.

\textit{pxk\textacuten{xk}keyi} Bad water (a lake) nbt. 3, 1.

\textit{pxxtsikak\textacuten{xk}t\textacuten{nai}} false-roots nbt. 10, 11.

\textit{pxxtsiksistsik\textacuten{umi}} false-thunder nbt. 210, 6.

2\textsuperscript{0}. as a verbal prefix wrong, bad;

omá \textit{pxk\textacuten{xk}s}ininikai a bad death to her nbt. 103, 6.

kik\textacute{a}ip\textit{pxxts\textacuten{nai}} you said wrong obt. 54, 27.

k\textacuten{enya}le m\textacute{a}tanists\textit{ipxxts\textacuten{apsiu}} and that was another mistake he made nbt. 170, 35.

mátsitsip\textit{pxxts}istot\textacuten{oxs}iu he had made again a mistake for himself nbt. 183, 17.

nits\textit{ipxxtsoxt\textacuten{oxpinan}} we put (one bone) wrong obt. 27, 8.

3\textsuperscript{0}. as a prefix by accident (the independent adverb is \textit{p\textsuperscript{a}x\textit{tsa}pi}):

\textit{pxxts\textacuten{isaisksinis\textacuten{a}ie}} if he happened to forget nbt. 35, 23.

\textit{pxtxuyiu\textacuten{aie}} he shot him by accident.

4\textsuperscript{0}. combined with other prefixes:

a) with -i \textit{k}, not much, a little, for a while:

\textit{pxxtsik\textacuten{apatoxtsik\textacuten{aukin}} he was just a little behind her obt. 19, 18.

\textit{pxxtsik\textacuten{kxkokinis\textacuten{a}u}} all of them got off their horses for a while nbt. 30, 30.

\textit{pxxtsik\textacuten{kxk}om\textacuten{mxk\textacuten{o}}} it was a little bigger nbt. 143, 23.

\textit{pxxtsikaminakatsi\textacuten{aau}} by little and little they rolled it eastward nbt. 156, 23.

\textit{pxxtsik\textacuten{axkakiskiminai}} she just touched it nbt. 151, 8.

\textit{pxxtsik\textacuten{apataxtsik\textacuten{aukinai}} he was right behind him nbt. 82, 1.}

ómamauk \textit{pxxtsikaitapiu} there he is hardly living.
b) with (m) i s t - it means: aside, cf. m i s t a p - (sub 2):
omí mistsísí itsitsípáxksistspiniuais he hit them with
that stick alongside of their necks nbt. 181, 18.
ponokàmitaiks páxksistsepuyiau the horses are standing
aside.

pi(o) - far (away).
10. as an independent verb:
piíxtsis einíua when the buffalo-herd was far nbt.
1, 15.
ákáipixtsíi they were far already nbt. 110, 3.
mátsipiòats he did not go far nbt. 83, 2.
áxkáipiuòiau they must be far away nbt. 108, 7.
aípstsíksipiùdís when she had gone a little way nbt.
109, 17.
maxksípixtsís that he might get far away nbt. 30, 28.
ki áipiùdó and he went far away nbt. 83, 18.
másiksipiòats it was not far nbt. 74, 5.
20. as a verbal prefix:
kánistsíppiotòmipuyíu she was standing far ahead nbt.
82, 18.
taistzámitapipínapo I then go long ways down nbt. 235, 30.
aípístosisí when (the people) have moved far nbt.
131, 9.
nató’síua áipispskapíu the sun was rising high nbt.
31, 1.
pyómazkau he went far nbt. 4, 12.
támanistsíppiautomò then he was far ahead of the others
nbt. 81, 16.
N.B. aípíixtsisoiau they came later than others nbt.
72, 12.
The independent adverb is: p i o ó x t.
pin-; negative prefix of the 2 and 3 prs. imperative, often replaced by min-:
pinsámis don't look at him obt. 23, 12.
annám ksikunístauuxm pinápanás (take care) that that white buffalo-calf may have no blood on it obt. 32, 25.
minstúnnit don't be afraid of (arrows) nbt. 55, 10.

(pinap- down, down-stream, east(ward); cf. ami-up (the river) the fundamental meaning of which occurs much more frequently than that of pinap- (down). Properly it is only once noted:
kyotsítsinápotokai (= ki-ots-its-inap-otokaie) and he was let down by him de J. de J. bt. 60, 21.
10. down-stream:
tákaxpitsínàpistai I will dive down-stream with him nbt. 88, 10.
ixtsínapapauàuàxkàiiik he was walking about down the river obt. 63, 12.
áistxmitsínapapaukunàiíi there (the people) would be camped about down on the river nbt. 7, 26.
ixtsínapautsimma he is swimming along down the river de J. de J. bt. 6, 22.
nitáksikaupinikipainapistai I shall feign to dive down-stream with him nbt. 79, 27.
nisótxmatsksinapoxpinan then we went down (afoot) nbt. 229, 34.
The independent adverb:
pinápoxts below (= down-stream) nbt. 88, 12.
píñapoxts far down (the river) nbt. 210, 19.
20. east(ward), scil. down-stream the rivers east of the Rocky Mountains; e.g.:
Pinápitsaikatoyis Eastern Sweetgrass hills nbt. 214, 16.
A man from Pineapono went east first.

Adverb: pineapoutsk eastward de J. de J. bt. 43, 4 (Uhlenbeck, Philol. Notes p. 27: "the proper meaning of pineapouts is "down the river". Nevertheless Dr. de Jong is right in translating pineapoutsk = pineapouts-k by "eastward". The prefixed form of pineapouts is pineap-, but after another prefix the initial p is lost")

N.B. itakainainai psaiiu they all charged down the river nbt. 80, 22.

pok- right after, with.

10. as an independent verb:
itoxpokiuaiie he followed her obt. 61, 18.
stamoxpokomiuaiie then he went together with him nbt. 96, 8.
axkunoxpokisop let us be together nbt. 123, 14.
N.B. otoxpoksimiks his companions nbt. 83, 22; nbt. 21, 25.
20. as a modifying prefix; the forms pak- and pok- are also met with:
ki itoxpokistsoaie and she entered the forest after her nbt. 102, 11.
itapokyapanaatutsiu then (the people) moved about that way (where the buffalo were many) nbt. 15, 3.
tsanistapi kitaokpakitopixpa what is it you will ride with obt. 1, n0. 3.
aitoxpokiaipuyit you must repeat right after him obt. 39, 32.
matoxpokapuyit talk back to him obt. 40, 4.
ixpokiuauaaxkaiinai then he walked after him nbt. 80, 8.
akoxtokotsisimau we shall smoke with (her) obt. 27, 24.
itoχpóksokaminaie then he slept with her.

istuyí máχkoxpokáupimaxs that he should stay with him during the winter nbt. 76, 14.

ánniaie tákoxpokzxχkaiìmmau with him I will go home nbt. 78, 3.

áχkitoxpoksistapausi'a so that I might go away with you.

pot- in the direction of, towards, together:
sotámiámipotáupiu then (the war-party) just sat there facing the other party nbt. 79, 21.
anitsipótapoxχkistau he would always lay one of them pointing to (the moon) nbt. 77, 25.
itáipotoxtomiauaists they put them together nbt. 35, 8.
imakóχksipotáuotsínikaiks even if they were shooting back at him nbt. 56, 14.
Sóàtsixpotamiso Came-up-over-the-hill-with-the-eagle-tail-feathers (name of a man).
itsipótanistsiuiaie he said back to him obt. 39, 35.

pum- good, strong:
áksipummoaiau they would be initiated nbt. 43, 4.
mátsipummápi it is not good nbt. 76, 12.
matsipumapiu it is not good nbt. 210, 8.
kataipumotásiua those that had not good horses nbt. 13, 18.

puxs- hither. Perhaps we may see in this prefix a combination of an element p- (cf. Fox pyä hither) with the prefix uχs- back. Often puxs- is combined with -(t)ap-. Examples:
áistxmipuxsapistutsiu then (the tribe) would move this way nbt. 5, 23.
támatsipuxsaput then come here again nbt. 77, 7.
itapáipuxsapistutsiu then (the tribe) was moving this way nbt. 14, 29.
kënni nisótzmipuxsapaiapiaupixinan and then we lived together all right till now nbt. 222, 13.
nitsipúxkosatasâm I come here to see you obt. 15, 4.
mátsipúxsapakauo ksistsikuûts a few days later nbt. 212, 31 (N.B. in the past, ergo: nearer to the speaker).
ixkanáipuxápsaksiau they all came out to me nbt. 216, 24.

10. sai- out. Other forms are: sα- (cf. aî-) before s, se- also before s; s-. E.g.:
pinsáxzmis don't look out at him obt. 23, 10.
itsáapiau they looked out obt. 13, 18.
áításakutsiu it boiled over nbt. 25, 28.
itsáskapatsiuâie he pulled him out nbt. 117, 13.
ixtsxsmiauaïe axkânnixkâie they looked out at him through a hole in the lodge nbt. 116, 10.
pinxtsxspípit; matsáxpeniki don't look out; if you look out again nbt. 132, 12.
отáukanaisâumaxkâni when all of them ran out obt. 11, 19.
nítsautôkiau they pulled me out nbt. 119, 28.
ákstxmsoautôyiû otozn then he would take out his knife nbt. 29, 25.
sáxpàipit jump out! nbt. 154, 11.
itáisakimiskâïau then (the water-bags) leaked nbt. 46, 11.
saînikiu he killed (one) out (of the enemies) nbt. 89, 26.
N.B. itsáxstxkapîui he crawled out from the lodge nbt. 108, 21; cf. saîistxkapîn one crawled out obt. 45, 21.
The independent adverb is to be found in:
amôi saâ'xtai the people on the outside nbt. 138, 20.
saâ'xtsim outside nbt. 121, 2.
The prefix sai- has only one meaning, scil. out.
Some remarkable cases however are to be mentioned:

1°. doubling of s a i -:
ki ita'z kinaisaisaipiau and then all the people ran out on a charge to them nbt. 32, 14.

2°. Several forms wherein s a i - seems to function as an independent verb, only followed by verbalizing suffixes:
itáumatapsaixpiu then (the people) made a rush out nbt. 18, 14.
kazkitsáapiaiai that you take them out obt. 45, 25.

2°. sai-, see s a u -.

sak- out; perhaps = s a i - + a k -.
At all events s a i - and s a k - are related to each other.

1°. as an independent verb with the suffix -s-.
stámsaksiua he then went out nbt. 99, 5.
otsæksai that he went out nbt. 85, 26.
itoz'kánaiszksiia then they all went out nbt. 86, 1.
akitsísaisaksiu then he will go out nbt. 59, 11.
sepísaksisi when he goes out in the night nbt. 59, 4.
såksíst go out! nbt. 76, 26.
zánisaksíst come out! nbt. 104, 17.

2°. as a verbal prefix:
áisakayayiu they ran out fast nbt. 20, 11.
omáxkanistapsakapomáxkaniaii that one of them might run out on the prairie nbt. 17, 2.
áisaksistutsop then we had moved away (from the river) nbt. 6, 24.

a) Besides s a k - also a form s o k - occurs:
áisokxtanitsiuaiie each time he would cut out a piece of it nbt. 190, 25.
itomátapsokoxsaylù it boiled over nbt. 155, 20.
b) Frequently sak- is connected with (t)ap-:
 znásákapuxs noɔkóa let my son come out obt. 53, 5.
mátsitsaksakapò she came back out of the forest nbt. 102, 13.
támsàkapò then he went out on the prairie nbt. 77, 1.
sákaptò go out on the prairie! nbt. 76, 26.
sákapùs when she came out nbt. 101, 26.

sat- out; cf. sai- and sak-.
itsátapiksimaie then he pulled it out nbt. 80, 12.
ixtáisatsikataiau with them they cut their backs open
nbt. 1, 27.
áistxmsatapiksixp ótokoàuaists then (the people) would
throw out their kidneys nbt. 1, 29.
The adverb: satòxtai (the people) on the other side of
the mountains nbt. 113, 22.

saki- still:
sákiàupii they still sat there obt. 43, 20.
sákiaitapli they were still alive obt. 46, 10.
mátsakiaistuyìu it is cold no more.
sakiàupisi when he was still at home obt. 3, 40.
sákiaiokau he is still sleeping obt. 31, 33.
sákiauàuàxkau (the war-party) was still travelling nbt.
28, 9.
sákiitautstsìu āpssìi the arrow is still there nbt. 199, 24.
otsákiaiokani while he was asleep nbt. 74, 12.
sákiauttsîsìaù they were still smoking obt. 18, 12.

sako- last.
1º. as an element of nominal forms:
Sakóâke Last-woman (name given to Mrs. Uhlenbeck).
sakóapòtsists the last pieces obt. 8, 2.
2\(^{\circ}\). as a modifying prefix:
sákoipim he came in the last nbt. 125, 2.
nítaxtsakoàumàkau (that) was the last one running obt. 16, 11.
sákoapà\(\chi\)kumi Last-howls-about (name of a Blood Indian man).
The independent adverb:
sakóáxtsim otáuaksini later on his corralling (i.e. now comes the story of his corralling) nbt. 162, 17.
Cf. sakóoxtsists the latter (pieces) obt. 8, 6.

\(\text{s}x\text{m}-\) a long time.

1\(^{\circ}\). often as an independent verb, i.e. only followed by verbalizing suffixes:
\(\text{á}k\text{ais}x\text{mo} it is a long time obt. 26, 23;\) etc.

2\(^{\circ}\). as a verbal prefix:
kitáksisxmainoki you will see me a long time obt. 67, n°. 8.

áisxmkôko it was late in the night nbt. 199, 8.
áisxmoûtsisîau they had smoked a long time obt. 27, 27.
áisxmipxskâu (the buffalo) danced a long time obt. 21, 11.
áisxmitâupiu he would sit a long time obt. 19, 30.
áisxmotonâiuâie a long time she was looking for lice on his head obt. 15, 13.

ítáisxmâukunâiau they camped a long time nbt. 4, 4.
manistápisxmistuyixp as it was far in the winter nbt. 13, 9.

Very often it is combined with aïp(i)stsiks - a little; e.g.: aïpstsiksxsxmos after a short while nbt. 29, 16.

1\(^{\circ}\). sap- into; in the tracks; following; like.

1\(^{\circ}\). as an independent verb:
\(\text{án}n\text{ix}x\text{kaie} \text{áutsapô he followed it (the trail)}\) nbt. 143, 11.
moxsokúyi tsapók follow my trail! nbt. 193, 19.
sotámoxtsapóiau they followed it (the trail) nbt. 127, 30.
tzmoxtsapóiaie then he followed him nbt. 153, 9.
itsípau áinakasi he got into the waggon.
20. as a modifying prefix:
a) in(to) (the fire, the boat, a pot, etc.):
tzàmitsapàxkíim he put it in the pot nbt. 25, 25.
nikàitaisapìnitàu I have killed him in there nbt. 195, 14.
matsks^pèpümåxki back-in, spring-bird! nbt. 195, 25.
stàisapiksikait step in it! (one of my steps) nbt. 75, 11.
oxtókisi itsítsípstaixp she drove it into her ear nbt. 149, 28.
itáisapoxtomìàuaists they put them in nbt. 6, 17.
itsítsapùxpaiipùuaie he jumped in into it obt. 46, 7.
åxkéyi itsísapasoyínaí he poured water (on the hide) nbt. 25, 21.
sot$maspotokusíñuaie she stuck her hands in near (her elder sister's) kidneys nbt. 104, 2.
ståmitsapòpiuaie then he sat down in (the boat) de J. de J. bt. 66/67.
b) on the trail; after; following:
tsítsápòmàxkât then follow up nbt. 131, 10.
moxsokúyik àutsapómaxkau he was going back on the trail nbt. 199, 14.
tzmoxtsapùpaauauaxkàiinai walking about, he then followed (the road) nbt. 143, 4.
ixtåxkánaisapùkskàsiu all the people followed (that way) running obt. 11, 18.
ixtsísíspùmàxkau she followed nbt. 110, 4.
mátoxtsitàisapokskasinai then she would run after them nbt. 146, 18.
c) (to follow) to act like a person, only taken down with the verb -ínausíu to dress:
nistōi nitotāisapinausiu she dressed like me nbt. 75, 25.
onā'γκitotuisapināus whom she dressed like nbt. 73, 29.
itāitotūisapināusiau they dressed like nbt. 72, 2.

20. sap- on each side; complete; right.
10. One example of that meaning which seems to be the fundamental one:
nistōi sapānisī let (buffalo) fall down on each side of me nbt. 184, 8; cf.: ki einī omī āitsisotanisīnai and buffalo fell down on each side of him nbt. 184, 9
(m i s t - 20 + (m) o t - ?).
20. completely:
sāisapānnistsiiks they did not do it completely nbt. 174, 13.
āisapānnistssoiaists the nights were complete = this was the last night nbt. 174, 13.
ki sāpanistsau and (now) it is completed = the story is at an end obt. 60, 18.
aisapānnistsępiksis if he has completed his strikes nbt. 242, 32.
sapistūtoaγκ if he was satisfied nbt. 55, 20.
aisapānnistsosāists when (the dances) were completed nbt. 46, 7.
ánnauk sapanīstsim there he (i.e. his body) was completed nbt. 143, 26.
āisapanistsiuaihe he had completed it nbt. 183, 16.
āisapānnistsimi natōsiks all the moons were in nbt. 77, 27.
ki āisapanistssoyi otsīnīxksoaists and (when) their four songs were finished nbt. 232, 7.
ákoxtsapanistsotokāniiu she will complete her scalp-robe with (our scalps) nbt. 109, 4.
30. **right**:

mátaisapistutsimatsaie *she could not fix it (the lodge)*

nbt. 138, 8.

sapxnístsitsináníiki *if you catch him right* nbt. 141, 3.

**sau-, sai-** not. Besides *mat(s)-, staï-, kâtaï-*, in certain cases *sai- (sau-)* is used as a negative prefix:

10. **always in the subjunctive:**

saiókainiki *if you don’t sleep* obt. 21/22.

aisauáuotôieniki *if I do not come (back)* obt. 19, 25.

saiitáiapiniki *if you do not see anything* nbt. 26, 19.

20. **in conjunctive forms, except when these are preceded by a *χk-* which is always followed in the negative by -*staï- (sau-):**

saiépíxtsis *when they were not far* nbt. 1, 20.

pxxtísaiskinsisâie *if he happened to forget* nbt. 35, 23.

sauumáipuausi *before (the people) got up* obt. 3, n0. 10.

aisauátsinakûs *when it is seen no more* obt. 50, 17.

otáisauôtoâs *when she did not come* obt. 14, 21.

otsauásaks *when she would not come out* obt. 24, 20.

30. **in the negative irrealis of the main clause; see:** Uhlenbeck, Some General Aspects p. 47—48; Conjunctief-achtige Modi p. 25—27.

40. **in the negative imperative 1 prs. pl. incl. after a *χkun-*, and in the forms of this mood which properly belong to the conjunctive system; see:** Uhlenbeck, Some General Aspects p. 42—44.

50. **in some indicative forms after certain modifying prefixes:**

kímauksâuoxtauiskks *why don’t you eat (from these bark, etc.)* obt. 7, 3.
kimauksauksàipàskaxks *why don’t you go and dance* nbt. 73, 4.
màuksaietapiskoiau *why are there no people about them* nbt. 104, 25.
itsáuatstunnoyiàuaiks *then they were not afraid of them any more* nbt. 72, 20.
stàmsauatatàkèuasiu (and this lake) *was then no water any more* obt. 49, 18.
itsáuatàsiau they (inan.) *were not good* nbt. 13, 11.
itsáitáitapiu *he became not a person = he became sick* obt. 61, 28.
aitsáitapisoàkòaiau *no one went ahead of them* nbt. 4, 2.
stàmátamaiksaitsimau *then she denied it hard* nbt. 150, 7.
kitáutàmsauatàksino *I nearly do not see you any more* obt. 29, 8.
áistàmsoksaitoxkonoyiuaihe *he would not find her* nbt. 96, 20.
itsáuxskaksaiiua (the smoke) *will never clear out.*
annóxk nímoxtsaunakiotoxpi now, *why I did not come soon* nbt. 172, 3.
áikaitáusapotoylu (the people) *would not turn them loose* nbt. 15, 8.
ákaitsauainakuyi they (inan.) *have disappeared (lit. they already not have been seen)* nbt. 127, 15.

**sauk-**, see **s o k-**.

**sekun-** continually. Properly *never met with* but combined with -(m) a t - *again + - a k - in the future* or with - a k - *alone*. Examples:
sekunátàkaniu *he kept on saying* nbt. 196, 14.
otsékunaksekak he went on kicking him obt. 22, 12.
sekunákoḵkumsoyiau they kept on squealing nbt. 175, 13.
sekunátakoḵkuminai (his anus) kept on making noise nbt. 175, 24.
sekunáktstatsiāuaie they continually wanted to stop it obt. 27, 14.

sepi-, sipi- in the night.
1°. as an element of nominal forms:
sépisto owl (pistó night-hawk).
2°. in personal names:
sépisisoiâke Cuts-in-the-night-woman.
sépinamaḵka Takes-gun-at-night (name of a man).
sépioto Comes-in-the-night (name of a man).
sépainixki Sings-in-the-night (name of a Blood Indian man).
sepísepistâḵkumi Owl-yells-in-the-night (idem).
sepíomotstâke Night-massacre-woman (Blood).
3°. as a verbal prefix:
itsfpiotoisimiu he went in the night to get a drink nbt. 199, 10.
áiisepiomatōiau they started during the night nbt. 23, 1.
amátsepištotot try to get (down on the other side) during the night obt. 52, 13.
kokúyi... sépiapainixkiuōiau in the night they were going about singing nbt. 203, 10.
anñoḵk kokús áksepiāuiāuāxkaup this night we shall travel on during the night nbt. 27, 1.

sik- to stop; done.
1°. as an independent verb:
áiiskò he stopped running nbt. 189, 22.
2°. as a modifying prefix:
áisxmo itsíksopu after a long while the wind stopped blowing nbt. 177, 1.
Cf. sikatóiksistsikūi Monday (lit. holy-day-past).

síkkxks- separate(ly); cf. ksik-sk- (2⁰) on one side:
áisikxksauyiiau they ate by themselves obt. 3, 15.

sími- secretly, on the sly:
otsisimyánik he was secretly told by him obt. 21, 9.
sotámisimiovkotsiu he just gave secretly (the dog to his father) obt. 11, 8.
itsiksíminixkatau he was secretly called obt. 65, 10.
támítaiisimiksatislua she was secretly jealous of her nbt. 149, 17.

sini-.
sinisístsauyiiks Eat-before-others obt. 3, n⁰. 10.

sisapok- through:
stámsisapóksistxkapiu he then crawled through the hole nbt. 194, 32.
ixtápsisxpoksaixtsiua (his leg) went clear through nbt. 97, 15.
otáisisxpokoxpisi that (his food) fell through nbt. 152, 29.
sesipúkaukskauaie (the pole) came out elsewhere de J. de J. bt. 28, 10 (cf. Uhlenbeck, Philol. Notes p. 18).
stámxsisapóksaksáiia (= stámxsisapóksaksiuaie’a) he passed through out de J. de J. bt. 28, 11.

sk- back.
1⁰ as an independent verb, i.e. only followed by verbalizing suffixes:
itomátapsko then they started back nbt. 82, 17.
aχkitskóyi *that he must come back* nbt. 99, 12.

2°. as a verbal prefix:
matsítskamistutsopa *we moved back* (towards the prairie) nbt. 5, 29.
stxmitskitau *then he was left there* obt. 9, 10.
itsksipím *she came back into the lodge* obt. 38, 3.
tákskitoto *I shall come back here* nbt. 88, 9.
iskaχkósii *they stretched their hands back* (i.e.: *they went back to help*) nbt. 24, 9.
itxskomaxkàiau *then they ran back* nbt. 16, 19.
matsksápèpumxki *back-in, spring-bird!* nbt. 195, 25.
itxskauaniu *the he would fly back* nbt. 96, 16.
nimátakatskitapòxp *I shall not go back* obt. 12, 8.
ómàpists matsítsksapokeka χs *let them come back and camp again in their old camp-grounds* nbt. 133, 17.

soat- cf. s u i-, s o-.

Once noted:
nitsitsoátåxpinan *we crossed it* (scil. a creek) nbt. 219, 8.

sokap- *good, fine, well.*

1°. as an independent verb:
sokápsiu (an.), sokápiu (inan.) *is good, is fine.*

2°. as a verbal prefix *well*:
sokápiitaxsaie *that he may skin it well* obt. 32, 10.
áksokapsàtsim *(the people) would carefully look* nbt. 7, 29.
áipstsokapistutsixp *it was fixed up inside* nbt. 53, 28.

sok-, sauk- *straight; suddenly; aloud.*

a) The original meaning is perhaps to be found in:
itsáukokskâsiu *she ran straight on* nbt. 104, 14.
b) suddenly:
sóksinîm he suddenly saw nbt. 75, 20.
tómssokitotôyîn then suddenly (one) came to him nbt. 74, 12.
tómssokôxtôyîuî he then suddenly heard him obt. 25, 1.
itómssokomatâpîksîau then (the buffalo) suddenly started to run obt. 32, 16.
itómssôkâxtsaksîau then they suddenly came out (of the lake) obt. 9, 23.
itómmsoksînim then (the people) suddenly saw obt. 5, 7.
itómmsoksînoiyîu then he suddenly saw him nbt. 77, 1.
álîstûmsoksaitoûkonyîuaie and he would suddenly not find her nbt. 96, 20.
alîsokâxtsaksiu she would go out ever and again nbt. 138, 9.
anânta tómmisokixtsisî there was one that came forward nbt. 73, 16.
eîntîtómssokitspîuîpîau they suddenly sat among the buffalo obt. 14, 20.
itómmsoksînisîlin then he suddenly fell obt. 30, 31.
tómssokôxtsîmiuî then she suddenly heard obt. 23, 14.
oûtûtûmsûksînokôaiau they were suddenly seen by them obt 3, n°. 10.
c) aloud; specially with the verb a n i - to say:
alîsokaniu he would say nbt. 8, 1.
alîsokanîstîyîu he always said to him obt. 34, 18.
alîsokanîstîuûaie he always said to him obt. 22, 10.
alîsokânîni they would say nbt. 3, 42.
alîsokanîâu they would say nbt. 35, 20.
alîstûmsokanîâu then they would say nbt. 3, 4.
alîsokâxtanîstîuûaie he ever and again said to her obt. 19, 13.
N.B. itsâ'kàuasâinîu he then wept aloud.
kimáumaiso’kanisks why do you say (that) aloud? obt. 41, 31.

sotám-, stám-; see: Uhlenbeck, Conjunctief-achtige Modi van het Blackfoot p. 3—4.

1°. after a little while; just; cf. a u t x m -, which is also found with imperative forms:

sotámìtaupit just stay obt. 48, 23.

óki sotámìpit now, come right in! nbt. 75, 17.

sotámauyit just eat! obt. 39, 28.

sotámìkakótsit just take it obt. 41, 3.

tákstämìksistapanistapu I shall go to an unknown place nbt. 73, 41.

2°. then. Uhlenbeck l. c. says: „althans wanneer men het verloop beschrijft van regelmatig terugkeerende gebeurtenissen.” E.g.:

áutakúsi táistxmox́tò... nitáistxmox́poxtàua in the afternoon I am going (I take my traps and a cow-head) I carry them along nbt. 236, 1—3.

Cf. the description of base-ball: nbt. 242.

3°. then (in the past), especially frequent in narratives told by youthful, unskilled raconteurs:

nisótxmox́tsinapò, nisótxmox́tsoau áx ké; nisótxmìmito nokúnan; nisótxmápx́zmau ponoká’mitaiks I then went down, I then went through the water; I then went to our ranch; I then was looking for the horses nbt. 243, 11 sqq.; also nbt. 227; nbt. 225 (all boys' experiences told by themselves).

sotámotapòtsiu then he came home with the meat nbt. 2, 9.

áistxmamotapìpiiai itapòtsopiks then the horses that had meat on them would be taken all over (the camp) nbt. 8, 36.
sotamokosimiuiaie then he had him for a child nbt. 33, 11.
stamínisau(o) then she got off obt. 5, 17.
áistxmaniau then they would say nbt. 1, 14.
stámaukásiu then he picked up obt. 8, 31.
stamitskitau then he was left obt. 9, 10.
stámítoto then he came nbt. 79, 6.
ösótxmoxkkokaie he was then given to him by nbt. 76, 13.
sotámsuyistútsiú he then moved on (on the ice) obt. 5, 10.
4°. presently, just now:
nisótxmst, axxkspumáuos I think just now, that we should go up.
kimáuksotámauanisks why do you say that just now?
Cf. sotáminoyiau they suddenly saw obt. 10, 25.

sp- high, above, up.
1°. as an independent verb, specially as a predicative adjective:
spítáu is high, is tall (of persons).
spímiu is high (of animals).
spiksím (an.), spiksíu (inan.) is high (of trees).
spíu is high (of things that are considered as inanimate). Cf. Uhlenbeck, Some General Aspects p. 19.
2°. as a verbal prefix:
itáspskunakatsiúua then he shot up at it nbt. 161, 24.
támispíiuáuxkkau then he went in deeper nbt. 80, 8;
cf. lat. mare altum.
itáspíniu he said upwards obt. 56, 28.
itáspápiu he looked up obt. 16, 17.
manístspáps when he looked up obt. 65, 3.
támítspiniuiaie then he lifted him up nbt. 153, 12.
N.B. nitsístsispi I have head-ache.
Adverbial forms are:
spó̃xts(i) on high obt. 57, 13.
spó̃xtxk above obt. 66, n0. 3.
spó̃xtsím on high obt. 68, n0. 9.
spó̃xtm on high obt. 67, n0. 7.

**st(a_xt)- under** (especially: under the water):
Perhaps we have the kernel of this prefix in the verb-stem for "to dive"; e.g.:
itsúistaiitu he dived in (the water) obt. 64, 12.
itsístaiiu he dived under the water nbt. 79, 33.
Otherwise these forms may be compounds with ist- in. Probably also the following forms contain an element akin to st a_xt -:
stá̃msístaxkapìinai he crawled in again nbt. 108, 5.
itsístaxkapìiu he crawled out from the lodge.
áístxkapìiu the sun went down nbt. 27, 4.
áístxkapìäsiks they crawled in nbt. 195, 16.
stá̃msisapòksístaxkapìiu he then crawled through the hole nbt. 194, 32.
itsístaxkapìiu he crept in among it nbt. 107, 28.

Examples:
istáxtsikokùto it (the creek) was frozen under (the surface) nbt. 219, 8.
åxké itástáxtaupiu he stays under water obt. 10, 15.
itástapiniuaie she pulled (the crow's) head under the water nbt. 151, 19.
The adverbial form in:
istáxtsim åxké under the water nbt. 93, 22.

**stau-, stai-** not. It seems to be a secondary form of s a u -, s a i -, e.g., after a x k -, produced by phonetical influences.
sui-, so- in(to), close by (the water, the fire).

1°. as an independent verb, i.e. only followed by verbalizing suffixes:

\[ \text{it}^\text{â} \text{xká} \text{naisodžiau} \text{ they all went in (to the water) nbt. 23, 9.} \]

\[ \text{niet} \text{̄xtaii támisoo then he went into the river nbt. 79, 25.} \]

2°. as an element of nominal forms:

\[ \text{annýsk suiétaplisk that person of the water obt. 49, 5.} \]
\[ \text{suiéstadzik water-bull obt. 8, 24; obt. 10, 12.} \]
\[ \text{suyáiksini Hog-in-water (name of a woman).} \]

3°. as a verbal prefix; frequently as the last member of combinations, e.g. \( \text{-opitos-is-(s)o-} \), \( \text{-o} \text{pit-s-o-} \), and \( \text{-is-(s)o-} \); cf. \( \text{o} \text{pit(s)- 2a and 2b; and} \)

\[ \text{itsúiapōutsim she swam about in the water nbt. 151, 2.} \]
\[ \text{itsitán speedyxpaipuaie he jumped into the water towards him nbt. 80, 2.} \]
\[ \text{óxkotoki škaitaisuyixtakiop they have already a stone in the fire nbt. 59, 22.} \]
\[ \text{noxkítsuiépetòkit you must put me into the water obt. 12, 11.} \]
\[ \text{otsúiaukskásau when they ran into the water obt. 10, 23.} \]
\[ \text{suiéspiu he looked into the water obt. 58, 24.} \]
\[ \text{itsóyiaškimaie he paddled them (the logs which were tied together) in obt. 57, 10.} \]
\[ \text{itsúistaiiu he dived in obt. 64, 12.} \]
\[ \text{ixpítspúotsimaie then he swam in the water with him nbt. 80, 17.} \]
\[ \text{omátsuyísaps when he looked in again into the water obt. 64, 14.} \]
\[ \text{itsúyaxkumi Yells-in-the-water (name of a man).} \]
itsúinokâ'kumi *Elk-yells-in-the-water* (name of a woman).
suyéniki *Kills-in-the-water* (name of a woman).
sotámsuyistútisíi *he then moved on (across the frozen water)* obt. 5, 10.
itáutsuistútisíiiae *they used to move to the water* obt. 5, 4.
ánnimaie itsúitomo *there was a butte right close to the creek* nbt. 214, 17.
Adverb: *potáni* iso sóxtsim *right near the fire* nbt. 153, 1; cf. however the adverbial form of *is-*: iso sóxtsik *in the future* nbt. 51, 24; 44, 8; 215, 12.

tá'm-, cf. a ut tá'm-, s(o) tá'm-.

1°. after a while, later on, with imperatives:
támanikit *tell me later on* nbt. 73, 25.
támapsámokikit *look for me later on* nbt. 74, 3.

2°. after that; then:
ótámisksinókaíie *then she was known by him* nbt. 73, 29.
támitaupíiu *then he stayed* nbt. 76, 24.
támitoto *then they got to* nbt. 3, 5.
támxákáiiíi *then he went home* nbt. 79, 2.
támpípím *then he entered* nbt. 77, 10.
támiuksítsípskáu *then (the women) had done dancing* nbt. 73, 34.
támoitaóxkaíiaí *then they started home* obt. 1, n°. 3.
támitapó *then he went* nbt. 77, 9.
támsákápó *then he went out on the prairie* nbt. 77, 1.
Often tá'm- is combined with só k- (see there sub b for examples).

1°. táp- *to go; to(wards)*.
1°. as an independent verb, e.g.: áitapo *he starts*; cf. áuma táp- sub 1°.
2°. as a verbal prefix (N.B. in most of the following examples it is not easy to make out whether we have to do with (t)a p- or with a p-):

itsitápsuìá pài piuaiie he jumped into the water towards nbt. 80, 2.

ítápaisumistsiim he began to lick (his arrow) nbt. 110, 27.

ámoxk amítoxts tápipiksik run that way higher up nbt. 201, 7.

tápopomáxtsi towards the other side of the river nbt. 88, 14.

itsitápsooi he went into the water towards him nbt. 88, 19.

itsitápsuyistàií then he dived into the water (towards) nbt. 88, 13.

ítápoxpatşkočtsi (the people) then began to rush nbt. 79, 17.

ítápaisauåktitsikiòp then we began to put on other moccasins nbt. 29, 2.

tápaisinikimatsiuaiie then (the people) began to make coups on him nbt. 81, 2.

matsitápskomáxkát run back again nbt. 187/188.

anápauitsimát take quickly nbt. 146, 10.

anápaiaκòt be prepared to go quick nbt. 122, 15.

annápaiakitapiit now prepare yourself nbt. 140, 4.

annápaínimát now begin to catch (your horses) nbt. 3, 5.

2°. tap-. Only once noted in an adverbial form:

ki amóksi tapóxtsik otsinánoaíi and (the stick) of those on the other side nbt. 34, 26.

tatsik- in, to the middle; between:

áupixtståsikiotsimaie he swam to the middle (of the river) nbt. 80, 20.
nitstsítsikistókioko *I am hit between the ears* nbt. 184, 13.
osáutatsíksiketan *his saddle-blanket* nbt. 36, 9.
The independent adverb is rather frequent:
tátsikástsim *in the centre* nbt. 181, 8.
omín ómzxksikimítu tátsikástsim *there in the middle of a lake* nbt. 74, 7.

uχs-, âχs- back(wards), behind (perhaps akin to (m)oz- soyís tail).
1⁰. as an independent verb, i.e. only followed by verbalizing suffixes:
itâχso they moved back (to the north) nbt. 8, 17.
ótótoxsaii when they came back nbt. 49, 5.
2⁰. in adverbial forms:
kánâuxsóxtsi behind nbt. 72, 6.
âχsókapóxtsi on the back-side nbt. 35, 4.
3⁰. as a verbal prefix:
a) in the combination oχso(χ)k- (cf. 2⁰. a k (s)-round):
nísótxmiksás, nítótoxsoko, nitáutxmixszmmmmau *I then hid myself, I went around him (being out of sight), I looked up at him* nbt. 216, 15.
mátsoxsoxkatsótsasímuáie he ran again around after him, being out of sight nbt. 178, 10.
mátsxsoxkatatsímuáie he again went around to him, being out of sight nbt. 179, 1.
b) combined with a p a t- back:
aptoxsaíszpiu *he was looking north* nbt. 66, 19; see a p a t- sub 3⁰.
c) See puχs(a p)-.
ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

P. 2, l. 7 from beneath. Read: I had better say, (instead of: I had better, say).

P. 3, l. 4. The full stop is to be cancelled.

P. 11, l. 4 from beneath. Read: „secon- (instead of: „secon).

P. 14, l. 11. Read: apxtóχtsik, (instead of: apxtóχtsik’).

P. 14, l. 5 sq. from beneath. These lines are to be cancelled. There are many verbal forms ending in -ixk, but there we have the relative suffix -χk in its palatalized form. The forms ending in -ixp(i) and -oxp(i) are compounded with the relative suffix -pi.

P. 36. Before axtso- ought to have been mentioned the nominal and verbal prefix axs- good, well, belonging to åξ si good. Examples:

kénni nísótxmipuxsapaiåξsaupixpinan and then we lived together all right till now nbt. 222, 13.

åξsapistùtsitau take good care of (my partner’s clothes) nbt. 159, 11.

åξsauàuaksisât run well! obt. 14, 4.

P. 36, l. 12. Read: -omai-, -umai- (instead of: omai-, umai-). Reference ought to have been made here to
Uhlenbeck, Some General Aspects p. 19, as to the use of this prefix in adjectives.
P. 40, l. 23. The words „or up the prairie?” are to be cancelled.
P. 44, two last lines. The correct translation of the form is: there down the river (the people) would then be camped about.
P. 45, l. 7. Read: kímáxtapauàuaáxkaáxp (instead of: kímáxtapauàuaáxkaup).
P. 52, l. 11—7 from beneath. Read: ik(s)-, or iik(s)- (with „Zerdehnung”, as German philologists would say), is also found in the combinations ikskai- (from iks-i kai-), and ikskaiik(s)-. Perhaps ik(s)- is cognate with a k- many, much. Cf. for its use in adjectives: Uhlenbeck, Some General Aspects p. 19.
P. 53, l 20. The form ikámípixtsii is morphologically an indicative. It might be called a „false” conjunctive, like the indicative-forms with a ák-.
P. 54 sq. The articles ikit- and (i)kin- ought to change places.
P. 55, l. 6 from beneath. The comma after -ixp- is to be cancelled.
P. 61, l. 6 from beneath. Read: as (instead of: e.g.).
P. 62, l. 17 sq. This form does not belong here (cf. pot-).
P. 63, l. 17. The form itsíniso belongs together with those mentioned sub in- 1º (p. 59). The opposite of in-is- is am-is- (i. e. ami- ñ is-), e. g. áuämiso he is going up, itsitápamisòyinai she went up to them nbt. 110, 18 (cf. p. 39, l. 20).
P. 66. Before itäm- ought to have been mentioned the verbal prefix itam- happy, belonging to the verb itamítakiu, e. g.:
áitâmiksistsikûì it was a fine day nbt. 25, 6.
áitâmauauaækâaïiau they went happy about nbt. 25, 7.

P. 71, l. 12 from beneath. Read: kätáiimiks (instead of: kätáiimiks).

P. 73, l. 5 from beneath. Read: he could not jump out (instead of: he could not get out of the water).


P. 75, l. 7 from beneath. Read: then (the people) had done dancing (instead of: then the people had done dancing).

P. 77, l. 3. Besides the example given here there are many other nominal compounds with manisk (s)-, e.g. manisksínokâmîta young horse, mániskomaxkstoki young mule, mániskômîtâ young dog, maniskáiksîni young hog, mániskoxkyâîo young bear, maniskéini young buffalo, etc.

P. 77, l. 13 from beneath. Add: An extended form of manist- (anist-) is manistâp- (anistâp-).

P. 78, l. 5. tákanistôxpaçtau is a dependent interrogative form from the verbal stem anisto, and so it belongs sub 1° (p. 77).

P. 78, l. 16. anistâpitaplau is a verbalized nominal form.

P. 81, l. 1. Read: berries (instead of: berrie).

P. 81, l. 5. Read: forms: (instead of: forms).

P. 85, l. 5. The translation ought to be: he smoked harder instead.

P. 89, l. 4 from beneath. nimôtsipitâkeixpinan is, of course, a verbalized nominal form.

P. 91, l. 3. The correct translation is: he finally ended his smoking.

P. 93, l. 4. Reference ought to have been made here to Uhlenbeck, Some General Aspects p. 19, as to the use of nit(s) - in adjectives.
P. 94, l. 4 from beneath. Read: (the people) (instead of they).

P. 99, l. 5. Read: combined with -so- it has the meaning ashore, from the fire (instead of: combined with -so- ashore, from the fire).

P. 104, l. 18. Read: very far (instead of: far).
ABBREVIATIONS, ETC.


As to the numbers which are placed after these abbreviations, the first denotes the page, the second, after the comma, the line.
I have also made use of materials in manuscript collected by Dr. Uhlenbeck and by Dr. de Josselin de Jong.
CONTENTS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preface.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part I.</td>
<td>General remarks</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part II.</td>
<td>List of prefixes</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Addenda et corrigenda</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Abbreviations, etc.</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>